DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 138 300 IR 004 735

AUTHOR	Katzman, Natan
TITLE	Program Decisions in Public Television. A Report for the CPB/NCES Programming Project.
INSTITUTION	National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	National Center for Education Statistics (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Aug 76
NOTE	81p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Decision Making; *Educational Television; *Financial Needs; *Financial Support; *Programing (Broadcast); Public Relations; Public Support; Television Research
IDENTIFIERS	Childrens Television Workshop; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Public Broadcasting System

ABSTRACT

This report examines public television from the perspectives of the National System, Local Public Television, and School Programing. It provides a history of the development of Public Broadcasting nationally, and includes the points of controversy between the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). A dominant theme is the role which finances play in the decision making process, and major sources of funding for national public television are described. The general situation of local public television is examined in terms of the limitations imposed by budget, the programing available from PBS, and the preferences and attitudes of station managers. The role of the board of directors and the relationship between local stations and the community are considered. In terms of school programing, the report indicates the impact of programs produced by the Children's Television Workshop, lists other frequently aired children's programs, and describes the educational programing of different types of local stations. It notes the limitations of open circuit television for Instructional Television (ITV), and the possible effect of technological development on the type of ITV service which can be offered. (WBC)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED138300

PROGRAM DECISIONS IN PUBLIC TELEVISION

A Report for the CPB/NCES Programming Project

By Natan Katzman

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CE 007 733

FOREWORD

Once in a while there comes an opportunity to publish a highly readable work that has a variety of promising uses. This is the case with Natan Katzman's book, *Program Decisions in Public Television.*

What makes it so useful is that it gives enough background to explain why things happen as they do. This is not simply a handbook that lays out how decisions should be made; it is an orientation to the complex institutional set-ups in public television and a description of how they affect program decisions.

The book is not without its controversial aspects. It was written nearly a year ago, having been prepared by Mr. Katzman through a United States Office of Education contract with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

It was once printed by the C.P.B. and was being distributed in February when C.P.B. found that it contained errors and should be reprinted. Several thousand copies were then destroyed. It is still under consideration by C.P.B. and a revised version may be printed by them.

NAEB examined the book, concluded that the few errors could be corrected in an errata, and that its overall merit justified circulation without any further delay.

HEW Education Division Counsel have confirmed that Mr. Katzman's work is in the public domain and is available for publication.

NAEB has chosen to reproduce the book as it was initially printed by the C.P.B., adding only its own cover, Foreword, and Errata.

NAEB
Washington, D.C.
August, 1976

This report was supported in part as an activity of the National Center for Education Statistics of the Education Division of The U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare in a joint effort with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position, opinion, or official policy of either C.P.B. or the N.C.E.S., and no official endorsement by N.C.E.S. or C.P.B. should be inferred.

ERRATA

i	ASE should read USOE
4	Line 14: dissentions should read dissensions
11	The photograph identifies Hartford N. Gunn as PBS President, which was the case at the time the study was written. Mr. Gunn is now vice-chairman of the PBS Board.
12	Line 15: 25% should read 26% 21% should read 20% .
23	Line 21: 1974 should read 1975
24	Line 19: 1974 should read 1975
29	Pie graph Federal projects 21% to 20% Corporate 25% to 26% A white line should appear from the center of the pie to the circumference point above the black line designating CPB's 10%. It should also be noted that the CPB and Ford Foundation contributions to the SPC are included as part of the SPC percentage.
36-37	The map appearing on these pages is incomplete and is incorrectly labeled in several instances, a corrected map has been prepared by the C.P.B.

CONTENTS

PREFACE i

I. THE NATIONAL SYSTEM 1
An Outline of the History 1
The Key Agencies 12
National Money 21

II. LOCAL PUBLIC TELEVISION 30
The General Situation 30
Decisions and Station Types 39
Large member-supported stations 40
Smaller member-supported stations 44
State networks 49
College and University Stations in Smaller Communities 52
School Board Stations 54
A Variety of Special Cases 58

III. SCHOOL PROGRAMMING 60
ITV Programming 63
Types of ITV Service 66
EEN Network 66
Member-Supported Stations 66
State Network 68
College ITV Station 69
School Stations 70

PREFACE

"The Corporation will provide a study of the decision-making process in the programming of public television. This report shall be based on a series of interviews and discussions. It will include a discussion of local programming practices, national programming policies, and the factors that influence the material that is broadcast by local public television stations."

—Agreement between the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and ASE National Center for Education Statistics.

For several years the Corporation for Public Broadcasting had been gathering data on the state of public broadcasting under the terms of a contract with the National Center for Educational Statistics, a branch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Education Division. Independent of these activities, there had been a series of six "One Week of Education Television" reports produced by various organizations over the previous decade. The 1970 "One Week" report had been partially financed by CPB, although it had been undertaken by Saul Rockman of National Instructional Television in Bloomington, Indiana. Data had been collected for a 1972 "One Week" report; but now CPB was feeling the pinch of full financial responsibility. In addition, there was a feeling that the "one week" method was no longer sufficient for a growing PTV system. Thus, it came to pass that CPB, through its Information Systems Office under Robert E. L. Tolbert, and NCES agreed to a joint effort to develop a program content survey.

The contract that CPB and NCES had signed in the late Spring of 1972 included an interesting provision. The Corporation, in addition to conducting a difficult but straightforward survey, was to provide a "report" on the "decision-making process" in PTV programming. This unusual component had been inserted at the behest of Ron Pedone of NCES who felt that more was needed in addition to the quantitative data that the program content survey would provide. To understand public television programming, he felt it was necessary to have an examination of the ways in which local broadcasters operated.

After brief negotiation, the Corporation hired me to undertake the

project. We agreed to a plan of operation. I spent October of 1972 in Washington getting to know the public broadcasting system and some of the key people in programming, research, and station relations. Plans were made and approved. I would operate from my home base in San Francisco. A survey design would have to be prepared in detail, submitted through government channels for approval, and pretested. Then the survey would take place. In addition, I was responsible for the "decision-making report" and was expected to tour the country visiting non-commercial broadcasters, finding their responses to the survey, and asking about their programming decisions. This was a vaguely defined task. The idea was to try to understand the programming decisions that were being made at the local level, and to come to grips with the reasons that those decisions were being made.

A project of this sort had natural peaks and valleys of required activity. At first there was a need to interview many people to learn what had already been done in the realm of public broadcasting content surveys. A working document had to be prepared and a survey methodology had to be thoroughly designed. Then there was a low period during which I was given the job of directing the analysis and writing the report for "One Week of Public Television: April 1972." In the summer of 1973 a forty page document was prepared for submission through NCES to the U.S. Office of Management and Budget, which must approve all surveys conducted with federal funds. A pretest of the proposed methods had been conducted, and was described.

In the meantime, I had taken every opportunity to visit a wide variety of public broadcasters while en route between San Francisco and Washington. George Stein, a very popular man among people in public broadcasting who is now with CPB's Office of TV Activities, gave me the benefit of his experience and friendships in choosing a wide range of places to visit and calling ahead to ensure a welcome for someone who was often an ignorant, questioning stranger. Thanks to George I was treated to frank and open discussions of the hopes and problems surrounding local programming. My experiences were everywhere enlightening, and I began to feel part of a close-knit group of public broadcasters with outposts located in every corner of the country.

During the last few months of 1973, we were forced to anticipate approval for the 1974 content survey while anxiously awaiting official word from OMB. Survey forms were designed and prepared for printing, sample dates were selected, and envelopes were addressed. In November we received approval, forms were printed, and the first mailing went out to broadcasters in December. The year-long survey had begun.

There is a comic book character who appears every so often among the FANTASTIC FOUR. He is called "The Watcher," and is a member of a race from a far galaxy. That race has pledged itself to observe but never to interfere in the affairs of other planets; so "The Watcher" is constantly appearing on the scene to observe the latest comic book menace and the ways in which the super hero team deals with it. Usually he winds up saying something like, "Although I am bound by my pledge never to interfere, there is a small bit of information which you might find useful . . ." And of course he then gets involved in the action. The assignment to gather information for a report on local decision-making was very much like an assignment to become a member of "The

Watcher's" race.

I was asking questions about local operations; but people were now asking questons in return about national trends and the comparative value of various programming techniques. I began to understand what "The Watcher" has to go through.

I hope a reasonable amount of objectivity was maintained during my later visits to local public broadcasters. A late trip to midwestern broadcasters certainly added a great deal of information to what had already been uncovered.

In the end my travels covered eighteen states—from Maine to Florida, West Virginia to Texas, Arizona to Washington. In addition to numerous discussions with many station representatives at meetings and conventions, I observed the operations of twenty-seven different PTV stations. Six are large community-supported stations, six are small-to-medium community-supported stations, eight are licensed to colleges or universities (two of these are licensed to universities but actively seek community support), three are licensed to school boards, three are state networks, and one station is city-owned. The more stations I visited the more I realized that each operation was unique. However, similarities and patterns also began to emerge. It is impossible to generalize about all public television operations. On the other hand, there seem to be several phenomena that are true of certain types of PTV stations.

This report is not the result of a systematic research method. There was no interview schedule, although an attempt was made to visit the operations of the widest range of stations. While the fact that this report was going to be written was always in my mind, I was also interested in various matters of short-term interest during my station visits. (What did they think of the formal survey? Could they explain a few things about their locally produced programs? What were their plans for the program cooperative? How could the CPB Information System Office and Office of Communication Research assist with any problems?) I sometimes, but not always, took notes. I collected anecdotes and swapped stories. I usually spoke with station managers and program managers about local programming; but there was often the opportunity to speak with ITV programming staffs, directors of development, and station people involved with local production.

The approach was journalistic, not scientific. There are, however, several important sources of information that I have used which represent systematic data collection. The computerized data base and published "Summary Statistics of Public Television Licensees" prepared under the CPB/NCES contract over the last several fiscal years have provided key financial, technical, and membership information. For several years PBS conducted a survey of program managers on the appropriateness, utility and quality of programs. These, although now out of date, have been valuable. The Corporation has recently sponsored an unpublished study of ITV arrangements and decision-making by Peter Spain. His findings have been one component of the description of ITV activities. There are also numerous documents about finances, membership and specific stations. And, of course, this report is a companion to "Public Television Program Content, 1974." That publication is mainly statistical and technical, a resource. Data from it have been central to this narrative, impressionistic report on decisions and policies.

It is my hope that this report can be read and understood by the layman. The reader who has been in public broadcasting for a long time will undoubtedly know some aspects of what is described here, although I suspect that very little of this kind of material has been written or published previously. The goal is to have something that will explain public television to both interested laymen and those relevant decision-makers who have not spent their lives working in the industry.

Ideally, this might have been the "great book" about public television that many of us are waiting for. It is not. However, if it provides insights or proves to be of value, then thanks are due to the dozens of people all around the country who were willing to give me their time and share their experiences. Special thanks must go to Jon Rice, a pioneer in the industry, for his patience and insightful responses to the first draft of this paper. Jack Lyle, former head of CPB's Office of Communication Research gave me both friendship and considerable support. Thanks are also due to Mary Sceiford who helped with the ITV chapter and Mary Anna Dunn who suffered through the editing process and many others who responded to various sections of the paper. In the end, though, an author must take the full responsibility for his work. I have described situations as seen through my eyes or as I have understood what other people were trying to tell me. I have attempted to obtain and analyze quantitative data where it existed, but many critical empirical questions have not been answered. In other cases the data provide only half-answers or clues. To critics who may complain that this report just touches the surface I can only respond: you are right. To those who find the report has missed some points or misinterpreted others, I must plead that an honest attempt has been made to present the issues objectively.

N.K.
San Francisco
August, 1975

THE NATIONAL SYSTEM

"You should probably call your report 'PTV programming decisions: Who's in charge here?' "

—program manager of a small station

Local public television broadcasters operate in the context of a national system. There are over two hundred and forty stations operated by over a hundred and fifty licensees in the United States, Puerto Rico, The Virgin Islands, Guam, and Samoa. (There are more stations than licensees because some licensees operate networks of several stations programmed from a central point.) However, only 11% of all air time in 1974 was local material. Since the stations interact with several national organizations in order to develop their total broadcast schedule, it is necessary to present at least an outline of the national system and its origins if this report is to adequately describe PTV programming decisions.

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY

"The historian is likely to be unconscious of his most fundamental prejudices."

—Arnold Toynbee

It has become chic to begin histories of public television with Aristotle, Gutenburg, or at least the University of Wisconsin, where the first educational radio signals were transmitted in 1919. Let's skip to April, 1952. At that time the Federal Communications Commission reserved 242 television channels for educational use. In 1948, the FCC had placed a freeze on the allocation of television licenses. Only VHF channels (those between channel 2 and channel 13) had been licensed, *none* for educational or non-commercial purposes.

Consequently, when the decision to reserve channels was made, there were relatively few VHF channels available for non-commercial use in major population centers. Of the 242 allocated channels, 80 were VHF and 162 were in the UHF band (channel 14 and higher). Of the nine largest metropolitan centers in the country, covering a quarter of the U.S. population, only three—Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco—were assigned VHF channels for educational purposes. (Later, a commercial channel originally licensed to New Jersey was purchased for non-commercial use in New York City, and a commercial license assigned to Wilmington, Delaware was used to provide VHF non-commercial broadcasting to the Philadelphia area.) In 1966, a revised FCC plan reserved a total of 116 VHF and 507 UHF channels for educational use.

In 1953, KUHT, channel 8 in Houston, became the first educational television station on the air. Others followed. In the fifties one of the main justifications for educational television was the production and transmission of programs for use by teachers in local classrooms. With the advent of videotape, program recording was greatly simplified and extensive exchange of programs among stations became possible. It also became possible to operate educational stations that did not have to produce a great deal of the material they transmitted. As early as 1952 there was established the Educational Television and Radio Center. By 1954 it was organized and operating from Ann Arbor, Michigan, a central location from which it could "bicycle" programs back and forth by mail among the new educational stations. There were nine affiliates at the end of that year.

In 1959 the Center, receiving its financial backing from the Ford Foundation, moved to New York and changed its name to the National Educational Television and Radio Center. (Later it was to become simply National Educational Television, or NET.) NET was a library facility at first; it financed and exchanged programs among member stations. A key Ford Foundation grant in 1959 provided affiliated stations with videotape recorders. The chance to obtain a $60,000 piece of equipment for free was one valuable aspect of affiliation.

With Ford support, NET moved in the early sixties into the realms of funding program production and acquiring foreign (mostly BBC) programs for national distribution. According to James Day, a PTV pioneer and former head of NET, "A national program service was not in the blueprint when the foundations (of educational television) were laid. It was put there by the Ford Foundation." Day feels that without the help given by the Foundation "public television would not have progressed beyond a parochial service to classrooms and a few bland televised courses for college credit." In 1963 Ford granted NET the first of a series of $6 million grants to upgrade the program service. (Previously, NET had been operating at a $1 million a year level.) The federal government also began to enter the picture in the early sixties. In 1962 President Kennedy signed a bill providing modest appropriations for educational broadcasting facilities if local non-commercial broadcasters could raise 25% of the costs. This significantly stimulated the birthrate of new stations.

Also in 1962, the U.S. Office of Education financed demonstration projects to examine the viability of instructional television libraries. One of these projects was initially known as the National Instructional Television Library. It

was administered from 1962 to 1965 by NET; then operated under the Indiana University Foundation and moved to Bloomington; by 1970 the library had become self-supporting and was known as the National Instructional Television, or NIT. More recently, NIT has become part of the Agency for Instructional Television and is now known as NIT/AIT or just AIT. A second demonstration project financed by USOE was to become the Great Plains National Instructional Television Library (GPNITL) located in Lincoln, Nebraska. GPNITL has been closely associated with both the University of Nebraska and the Nebraska ETV Network; it serves as a national library and distribution center parallel to NIT/AIT. A third demonstration project was the Northeastern Instructional Television Library. This was established at the fledgling Eastern Educational Television Network and eventually developed into the instructional television service of the EEN. The importance of these three demonstration projects of USOE can be seen in recent data. In 1974 the NIT Center distributed 19% of all instructional programs broadcast and 10.2% were distributed by GPNITL. In the northeastern states 44% of all ITV programs were distributed through EEN.

The Ford Foundation was also instrumental in the establishment of the Eastern Educational Television Network. Initial grants paid for organizational meetings, and in early 1961 the EEN was incorporated by a group of educational broadcasters, universities, and state departments of education. Listed among the original members was NET, which at the time was about to get USOE support for the precursor of the NIT instructional library. The EEN was to be an organization of dues-paying members. The first Network President was Hartford N. Gunn, later to become President of the Public Broadcasting Service. The purposes of the EEN were:

> to promote education by preparing, producing, reproducing, disseminating, furnishing, relaying and otherwise assisting and cooperating with others in broadcasting by television and disseminating by other means of historical, literary, musical, scientific, medical, educational, cultural and informational materials and programs and reproductions thereof, and permitting the use of the same by others by sale, gift, lease, license or other means.

This broad mandate involved the EEN in both programming for use in schools and programming for use by a broader viewing public. In 1964 both WTTW, Chicago, and KQED, San Francisco applied for EEN membership. Their requests were refused; but they were allowed to exchange and purchase programs through EEN's network program service, which excludes ITV. More recently, EEN "program service" membership has been granted to stations including those in Los Angeles, Phoenix and throughout Florida.

The EEN has developed into a major *regional* organization, serving members in eleven states from Maine to West Virginia and additional program service members. Its Board of Trustees decided in 1967 to tie the member stations together in a live interconnected network. Grants from Ford, the Carnegie Corporation, NET, and CPB have helped develop and maintain the regional interconnection that is financed by annual assessments of member stations. EEN's interconnection is unique in providing a two way link so that programs can originate from many stations in the network. There is no need for a

single central transmission source. The interconnection has allowed member stations to produce live coverage of events for use by other member stations; it has also produced significant savings when compared to the costs of videotaped distribution of programs now distributed by interconnection.

In the early sixties public television expanded rapidly. The number of stations more than doubled between 1961 and 1966, when the total had climbed to 115. The average number of hours broadcast by each station increased by 25%, reaching almost fifty hours per week. This rate of growth had been spurred by the federal facilities grants of $32 million between 1962 and 1967, Ford Foundation support of NET—especially the grants for videotape recorders and national programming, the success of the USOE demonstration projects for instructional program libraries and distribution centers, and growing state and local support for the concept of educational television.

It was also in this period that the first major dissentions began to appear. The relationship between NET and its affiliate stations was sometimes stormy. Although affiliates were under no compulsion to air NET offerings, they had few alternative sources of inexpensive public affairs programs, dramas, or cultural offerings. Some affiliates felt that a strong centralized organization would be a threat to local autonomy, others called for more leadership and a stronger national network concept. (In those years the first "we are *not* a fourth network" comments began to appear with some frequency.) Additional complaints were made with great feelings about what some affiliates regarded as NET's "liberal bias" in the production of documentaries and the disregard by "eastern intellectuals" of local sensitivity to matters of taste and language in dramatic programs.

> "The crowning frustration, though, was the expressed feeling of many stations that NET shrugged off their complaints with an arrogance born of its independence. Supported entirely by the Ford Foundation—which, in general, was sympathetic to its programming aims—and governed by a self-perpetuating board of distinguished citizens—NET was relatively immune to the threats and blandishments of the stations. And its governing board and the Foundation took the position that what's good for the country must be good for the stations. The stations felt otherwise. They were the country . . . They spoke hopefully and wishfully of a network that was 'responsive' to their needs."
>
> —James Day, Address before the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference, October 1972

Late in 1964 the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, under a $65,000 grant from USOE, convened a conference of station managers and board members to consider the financial future of their system. The conference was designed and led by Scott Fletcher of NAEB, who had previously been director of the branch of the Ford Foundation that had first become interested in educational television. The conference urged the establishment of a national commission to "study ways and means by which educational television can become a permanent instrumentality in the United States." At the time of the meeting, John W. Gardner was President of the Carnegie Corporation. His

active support for the commission was enlisted, as was that of key staff members in the Johnson White House. (Gardner soon became HEW secretary.) President Johnson was interested, but it was decided that the commission should be supported by private, rather than government, funds. The Carnegie Corporation undertook to pay the bills.

Former CPB President John W. Macy, Jr.

The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television included a panel of distinguished citizens under the chairmanship of James Killian, a distinguished scientist and scholar. It devoted most of 1966 to an intensive study of non-commercial broadcasting in the United States and abroad. Eight formal meetings, taking twenty-eight days in all, were held. In addition, papers were commissioned, hundreds of interviews were conducted, and a great deal of professional staff time and effort was put into the efforts of the Commission. In January, 1967, the Carnegie Commission published its report: *Public Television—A Program for Action*.

Here was a new terminology, "public" television. By the report's definitions "educational" TV had two components: "instructional" and "public"—non-instructional material of importance "which is not appropriate or available for support by advertising." As former CPB President John Macy has written, the Carnegie Commission report was to eventually attain the status of holy writ, attracting interpreters who would selectively cite concepts and phrases to support widely differing views. In brief outline, here are the Commission's proposals:

A) There should be concerted efforts—federal, state, and local—to improve facilities, provide support for individual stations, and increase the number of educational stations.

B) Congress should establish a federally chartered corporation (The Corporation for Public *Television*) to receive and disburse gov-

ernment and private funds and . . . to improve public TV programming. This was the fundamental component of the proposal. The proposed corporation was to:

—support at least two national production centers, deal with independent producers, support production by local stations of programs for more-than-local use, and support strictly local programming;

—provide facilities for live interconnection of stations (Congress should act to provide free or preferential rates);

—support research and development of improved programming and television technology;

—provide the means to recruit and train talented television artists and technicians.

C) An excise tax should be placed on the sale of television sets to provide a trust fund for the corporation.

D) The HEW Department should be given funds to improve station facilities, expand the coverage of the system, and encourage instructional programming.

E) Federal, state, local and private agencies should support the development of television as a tool for formal and informal education.

President Johnson included a call for the development of educational television in his January 1967 State of the Union message. Details were given a few weeks later in a presidential message on education and health. The final bill, introduced by Senator Magnuson in March, included most of the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission.

The public broadcasting community put aside internal differences and gave unanimous support to the bill. The times were right for such legislation; and in eight months the President signed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

The new Act expanded the Carnegie Commission's proposals beyond television—non-commercial radio was also to be the province of the Corporation for Public *Broadcasting* (CPB). This was a new, private, non-profit, federally supported corporation created to "facilitate the development of educational radio and television broadcasting and to afford maximum protection to such broadcasting from extraneous interference and control." The Act also extended and expanded the initial 1962 federal program to support the growth of public broadcasting facilities by way of grants from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Several components of the final language of the Act are of importance in the public television programming environment. One key suggestion of the Carnegie Commission was not enacted; there was no dedicated excise tax on television sets. As a result, one of the dominant patterns in public broadcasting since 1967 has been the annual trek of public broadcasters to Capitol Hill in support of a federal appropriation for CPB. An amendment to the original bill prohibited the Corporation from owning or operating broadcasting facilities. CPB was to assist in establishing one or more systems of interconnection to distribute programs to the stations. The Corporation could not own or operate an interconnection system. By creating this type of corporation, the act attempted to

give public broadcasting a level of insulation from governmental pressures. The Corporation soon brought about the creation of a new, independent organization to run an interconnection for public television, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Since the PBS Board included station representatives, control of program distribution was closer to local stations than NET with its independent Board and financial base at the Ford Foundation.

A second amendment incorporated in the Act of 1967 put into law a response to the apprehension that public broadcasting might become either an instrument of advocacy or a tool of the government. CPB was to make available to educational stations programs of high quality, obtained from diverse sources, *"with strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs or series of programs of a controversial nature."*

Almost simultaneous with the signing of the Public Broadcasting Act there appeared across the nation a Sunday night public affairs program called "Public Broadcasting Laboratory" (PBL). The program was another Ford Foundation project, undertaken with the backing of Fred Friendly, a former CBS executive who was now television advisor to the Foundation. NET arranged to lease interconnection facilities from AT&T, which controls the necessary lines and microwave links, on a two-hour-per-week basis; and PBL became the first regularly scheduled public television series. In some ways this was unfortunate. The series, by virtue of its name and the timing of its introduction, was immediately associated in many minds with the new CPB, which had not been a party to its appearance. It received mixed reviews, soon became a matter of controversy because of its production quality and tough journalistic examinations of presidential decisions—particularly regarding the Vietnam War. It was not well received by a large number of educational broadcasters. Here was another example of the Ford financed programming which upset many stations. It appears likely that reaction to PBL was a significant influence on the structures that public television was later to choose for itself.

Meanwhile, the most significant project in the history of educational broadcasting was also in the works. In June 1966, while the Carnegie Commission was already at work, the Carnegie Corporation commissioned Joan Ganz Cooney to study the feasibility of creating a television program to enrich preschool learning by young children. By the fall of 1967 a proposal for the creation of the Children's Television Workshop was being drafted. By early 1968 the project had a tentative budget of $8 million from Carnegie, Ford, and USOE. (The full story is told in Polsky's *Getting to Sesame Street* and Lesser's *Children and Television.*) Sesame Street was about to be born.

Under a provision of the 1967 Act, common carriers (i.e. AT&T) were allowed to provide free or reduced interconnection rates to CPB. The Corporation first applied for free service. AT&T rejected the request, and was supported by the Federal Communications Commission. Eventually the FCC adopted a standard that set the rate at 40% of the commercial rate. (Even this was temporarily lowered by agreement between CPB and AT&T.) A limited interconnection arrangement was made by the autumn of 1969, in time for the first broadcast season of "Sesame Street." The success of the children's program was beyond expectation (or hopes). It achieved its educational goals and it attracted young viewers in great numbers. (An analysis in early 1975 indicated

that the 9:00 AM daily showing of "Sesame Street" in five major cities was seen by almost three times the number of homes that tuned to the average prime time public television program.) The onus surrounding PBL was replaced by the aura of "Sesame Street"—it was repeatedly cited as *the* example of what public television could do.

(The success of "Sesame Street," its companion "The Electric Company," and "Mister Rogers Neighborhood" had a considerable influence on the background in which public TV operated for over five years. Goals were often phrased as "we need a 'Sesame Street' for . . ." But programming for the elderly, minorities, drama lovers, etc. has never duplicated the success of the programs for young children. In later years, one begins to notice a sense of frustration—"why can't we do anything else that good?"—and even a muted hostility toward the programs—"boy are they expensive.")

In a series of meetings, CPB along with representatives of the NET Affiliates Council and NAEB's Educational Television Stations division designed the pattern for an organization to distribute programs over the interconnection. This was the origin of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). The board of PBS was to have a majority of stations representatives. It was to be a non-profit corporation funded by CPB. It would own the equipment required to transmit programs over an interconnection and would schedule and transmit programs on a PBS "feed" to stations. Note that PBS was not in the business of funding or producing programs; and CPB, which could provide funds for program production, was also prohibited from actually making programs.

Under the arrangement, programs tended to come from PTV stations. Stations could produce programs with their own funds, or they could receive outside production money—from CPB, government agencies, foundations or corporations. Stations could also acquire programs—from foreign broadcasters or independent producers—and then submit them to PBS for distribution. In practice, the system produced a series of negotiations between PBS, CPB, other funding sources, and producing stations; and general consensus was usually achieved before production began. PBS had at its disposal a 24 hour interconnection and a network of teletype terminals at every PTV station. Thus, it was possible to "pre-feed" material of a potentially sensitive nature by transmitting the programs during hours when the interconnection was not being used for direct broadcast. Stations would be alerted by teletyped "flags" about potential problems with political slant, taste, or language. They then would be able to screen the program well in advance of the scheduled air date. In the first period of PBS operations, which began in 1970, there was some concern that there were not enough flags—stations were still sensitive from their experiences with NET; but the flagging procedure eventually became generally satisfactory. At present, stations generally feel that they have enough time and information to pre-screen sensitive material and decide whether to broadcast it to their communities. [Neither the affiliates of NET nor the stations served by PBS have ever been under any compulsion to broadcast anything. Programs were made available; but the national organizations had no authority to demand that they be put on the air.]

Meanwhile, ITV was undergoing a transformation. Prodded by the stimulus of "Sesame Street" and then "The Electric Company," educational

broadcasters became more concerned with the technical, aesthetic, and instructional quality of the programs they were offering for use in the classroom. NIT took the lead and became a catalyst for the formation of national consortia. These were groups of state and provincial educational agencies who would decide to jointly fund a specific instructional series. A particular consortium would arrange for production of a series to meet a particular goal. Members would pay a specified proportion of the budget and would then have part ownership and broadcast rights. Consortium production of ITV allowed for significant economies of scale—many agencies pooled resources for a higher quality series than any one could have produced locally. It also avoided the potentially sensitive problem of creating a national production center for instructional television. Resistance to centralized decisions about ITV has traditionally been as great as resistance to national textbooks or curricula.

The most relevant facets of public television history in the early seventies were probably its growth—both in hours of service and in program quality—and its incessant minor internal squabbles. Located in Washington, both CPB and PBS were prone to find sinister overtones and power plays in each other's behavior; and outside analysts were quick to search for hidden political motivation behind every announcement. Many of President Nixon's appointments to the CPB board were critically commented upon, and several public statements by White House officials were taken to be attacks upon the independence of public broadcasting—especially its public affairs programming. (This was the period in which then Vice President Agnew was chastising the commercial networks for biased news coverage.) Despite the squabbles, public television was expanding rapidly.

The federal appropriation to CPB increased from an initial five million dollars in fiscal year 1969 to nearly forty-eight million dollars in the year ending June 30, 1974. From the first, the Corporation began to finance specific projects and provide general support in the form of "Community Service Grants" to local stations. The new facilities made possible by the 1967 act were financed by USOE, which thus brought many new stations on the air and helped many others significantly improve their broadcast quality. Production funds and Community Service Grants (CSG's) began to flow from CPB to the stations at an increasing rate. This augmented money from the Ford Foundation, and the quantity and quality of programs rose accordingly. Imported series such as "The Forsythe Saga" and "Elizabeth R," the strong daily children's programs, and significant productions from within the PTV system brought public television to the attention of millions of viewers in this period.

The Ford Foundation, however, decided in June of 1973 that it was going to phase out its support of public broadcasting by providing a total of $40 million over five years, starting in 1974. Between 1951 and 1973, Ford had spent roughly a quarter billion dollars on public broadcasting. Between 1969 and 1972 the average amount spent by Ford on public television was just under $20 million a year. In 1973 the amount fell to $10.6 million as Ford began to withdraw. (*Status Report on Public Broadcasting 1973*, p. 16 gives details.) Despite this phase-out, total non-duplicated money available to the public broadcasting industry rose steadily and substantially—from $138 million in fiscal year 1970 to $239 million in fiscal year 1973 (*Ibid.* p. 21).

Financial growth was steady; but public television faced repeated controversy. Only two of the first six annual federal appropriations for CPB were at the level authorized by Congress, although public broadcasting funds were most often a victim of a presidential veto of the entire HEW bill. The CPB appropriation has been a very small part of legislation including the entire HEW budget. Unfortunately, if the President vetoes the bill, the CPB appropriation is vetoed. Statements by White House advisors were interpreted as attacks upon independent public affairs coverage by public broadcasting. Local stations complained that they did not get a large enough share of the CPB funds. Producing stations complained that too much was spent on local stations, and not enough on production. Disagreements between PBS, CPB and the producing stations over matters of program selection and distribution of funds often flared into public dispute. A "partnership agreement" was negotiated over a period of time to spell out areas of separate and overlapping responsibility between the two organizations.

Details of the CPB/PBS disputes are complex and often not readily available for scrutiny. The basic problem, however, seems clear enough. One organization had the money and the other did not. The first felt that it must retain ultimate responsibility and authority for distribution of the federal appropriation, while the second felt that it was more responsive to the needs of the system and less prone to give in to political pressure. For example, in late 1972 controversy flared over potential coverage of the Apollo 17 moon walk. It was not carried. Later, there was a CPB decision to end funding for several public affairs programs. This drew a storm of vocal opposition from the stations and the press. The programs were eventually renewed. In January, 1973 the CPB Board met and passed a resolution stating that the CPB Board "cannot and will not seek to delegate its responsibilities for final decision making." The resolution also reviewed PBS activities and found several in which there was "unnecessary duplication" between the two organizations: certain legal functions, the responsibility for decisions on program production support, pre-broadcast acceptance, post-broadcast review of programs, and certain research and publicity functions. The Board resolved to develop a plan that would place these responsibilities solely within the Corporation.

The implications of this resolution were not acceptable to PBS, which was faced with serious curtailment of functions it was already performing. Nor were the stations ready to support such a move. In their eyes recent Nixon administration moves posed a threat to the independence of public broadcasting; and CPB, with a Board of Directors appointed by the White House, was a potential tool through which any chief executive might attempt to control public broadcasting. In the end an uneasy peace agreement was adopted after a period of sometimes acrimonious negotiations. CPB never relinquished its *de jure* authority to PBS; but an arrangement was reached that implied *de facto* agreement of the two organizations was required for major programming decisions.

At the annual meeting of PBS stations in late March 1973 a major structural change in that organization was approved. PBS had been established as an independent non-profit corporation operating under grants from CPB. The stations, with support from the Corporation, voted to create a new PBS that would be a membership organization operated under the authority of dues-

paying stations. PBS continued to hold a CPB contract to operate the interconnection and to schedule and distribute programs. Its staff was unchanged and day-to-day operations were no different in the short run. However, the new entity was directed by a Board of Governors drawn from lay persons on the Boards of local stations and a Board of Managers drawn from local professional PTV management.

Dr. James Killian, Honorary Chairman of the CPB Board

Henry Loomis, CPB President

Hartford N. Gunn, Jr. PBS President

New conflicts developed when the CPB Board tabled a compromise negotiated by its Chairman, Thomas Curtis, who resigned as a result of this setback. His replacement was Dr. Killian, a man acceptable to both the Board and the stations. After a few months of further discussion, the reorganized PBS and CPB reached an effective agreement. *Variety* was able to write: "The formal pact signed between the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Public Broadcasting Service September 28 in Washington, D.C., by CPB prez Henry Loomis and PBS topper Hartford N. Gunn, Jr., plus the monitoring committees set up last May, should iron out differences between the two organizations, according to Loomis."

At the end of May, the PBS and CPB boards had issued a joint resolution that clarified some of the points of contention. It specifically established the size of grants to local stations under different levels of federal funding. The amounts were high enough for a "program cooperative" to be instituted. The September 28 agreement put to rest certain disputes about specific responsibilities for the two organizations and allowed PBS to proceed with plans for a jointly funded program selection scheme to involve all the stations. Following a series of CPB/PBS/Ford negotiations, a station program cooperative was created to allow the stations to select the programs they wanted.

Stations purchased programs by voting with their own dollars from among a list of proposals. Ford and CPB put up a maximum of $10 million dollars as a 3:1 match for dollars spent up to a predetermined limit for each station. In the first year of the SPC roughly $4 million was provided by the stations for production of national series in fiscal year 1975. Stations also contributed $3.1 million in PBS member fees, while CPB distributed $25.4 million of federal money to the stations in the form of community service grants in FY 75. The second, and most recent, SPC resulted in $7.4 million of local

station funds allocated for national production in 1974-75; another $9.2 million (of a maximum $10 million) was put into the second SPC by CPB and Ford. For fiscal year 1976, the stations are committed to 3.85 million in PBS dues, while CPB CSG's will increase or remain unchanged subject to the fate of pending legislation. Thus, the proportion of SPC funds coming from local budgets increased in the second year, while changes in the ratio of local SPC payments to CSG income and the net amount of CSG money retained by the stations will not be known until Congress acts on CPB funding. Thus the proportion of SPC funds coming from local budgets increased in the second year, while the ratio of local SPC payments to CSG income declined.

The advent of the SPC meant an addition to the sources of funds for national programming. Programs were still produced by local stations or acquired from foreign and independent sources. Distribution was still by way of the PBS interconnection. In fiscal year 1975 the SPC provided 25% of all *national* program funding, 25% came from corporate underwriting, 21% came from government agencies, 14% came from foundations, 10% came from CPB and 5% came from local station resources.

CPB, by resolution of its board of directors, adopted a policy adding weight to the fact that local stations now had a direct influence on the selection and funding of programs. The Corporation committed itself to fund new series for no more than two years. Thus, CPB will not have to decide whether it should continue to support a program after a second year on the air. The end of support is automatic. If the producer of a CPB-funded program wants to continue production after two years, the program can be entered as a proposal in the SPC or another source of underwriting can be sought. This gives the stations the responsibility to determine the fate of established series. Two series that had been cut loose under the two-year rule were re-funded by SPC-2—NOVA and THEATER IN AMERICA.

In its brief history, public television has undergone considerable changes; and there is a local history for each PTV broadcaster in addition to the history of the national system. Local programming decisions are influenced by a complex interaction of many factors, some of which will be discussed. The people who make decisions operate in the context of an environment that greatly influences the alternatives available and the options that can be taken most easily.

THE KEY AGENCIES

"American public television is neither controlled by, nor answerable to, any one institution."

—What is Public Television? (promotional flyer)

People who work for one organization or the other are often surprised by the way in which the public confuses PBS and CPB. In the minds of many people there is a single "Public Broadcasting" entity that operates the "fourth network" in the United States. This general view is ironic both because of the often bitter disputes between CPB and PBS and also because most people in the industry

now go out of their way to demonstrate that public television is *not* a network. It should be noted that PBS stands for the Public Broadcasting *Service*, and that the public television *system* is composed of a variety of organizations interacting with more than 150 licensees to eventually provide the public with programs on more than 240 stations. (Public *broadcasting*—as opposed to public television—also includes all of public radio.) In order to describe the process of decision-making in public television, key institutions should be described.

What is PBS? A good starting point is a description offered by a recent promotional flyer for public broadcasting:

> The Public Broadcasting Service is the member organization of the nation's public television stations. Owned and governed by the stations, it serves both as the national distributor of public television programs and as the coordinator of numerous station services.
>
> While not a "network" in the familiar sense, PBS manages and services the public TV interconnection—the system through which the stations are linked together. Through the interconnection, programs are distributed from PBS across the nation and can be broadcast at a time of the individual station's choosing.
>
> As the stations' national representative organization, PBS has many other responsibilities. It administers the station program cooperative and provides stations with many support services—including acting as their spokesman before the Congress, the executive branch and the Federal Communications Commission.
>
> PBS is governed by a board of 25 distinguished citizens elected by the membership. This Board of Governors is composed of prominent members of individual communities who serve as trustees at their local stations. This governing group is advised by a 25-member Board of Managers—a group of professional station executives which is also chosen by the member stations.
>
> PBS's operating budget is derived from the stations, each of which pays an annual membership fee, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which contracts with PBS to provide the technical program distribution facilities.

PBS tends to be familiar to public television viewers because of its logo, which precedes and follows programs that it distributes. It performs two functions that are critical to local public television decisions. First, it coordinates the station program cooperative, which allows stations to have a measure of control over national program production. Second, it schedules the public TV interconnection. This schedule determines the day and time at which programs will be nationally distributed. It is expensive to videotape programs for airing at some other time, while it is relatively inexpensive for a station to throw a switch and transmit a program as it is arriving over the interconnection. Thus, the interconnection schedule established by PBS has a great influence over which programs are put on the air at any given time by local public television stations. The PBS "feed" is probably the single most important factor in local decision-making. In addition, PBS works with CPB to review funding decisions; it operates the Station Independence Project—a national membership drive, and it

provides research and publicity support.

What is CPB? The same promotional flyer provides a basic description:

> The Corporation for Public Broadcasting is a private, nonprofit corporation established pursuant to the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 to promote the growth and development of the nation's noncommercial television and radio stations. Its goal is to provide the American public with the greatest possible benefit from this system.
>
> The establishment of CPB was authorized by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which directed the Corporation to receive and distribute federal funds in ways that strengthen the local stations, increase the inventory of excellent programs available to them, establish effective interconnection services for television and radio, and strengthen the total system through activities such as audience research, professional training, and experiments with new technology. CPB is governed by a 15-member board of directors appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.
>
> CPB has no operational role in the public television programming process. Instead, it helps fund the piloting and development of new programs; makes unrestricted grants to stations to be used for purposes of their choosing; supports those PBS activities that are directly related to providing an interconnection service; and helps support the station program cooperative.

CPB (also known as the Corporation) has several areas of indirect, but extremely important, impact on local public television decisions. First, it distributes federally-appropriated money to the stations in the form of unrestricted Community Service Grants (CSGs). These funds often provide the margin of difference that allows a station to undertake local programming services—of course it is up to each station to decide how its CSG will be spent. Second, it pays for the PBS interconnection. At present, CPB is exploring the possibility of interconnection by communications satellite—the current system uses AT&T long lines and microwave links. There is a chance that public television will have two or more simultaneous feeds. If and when this happens, local decision-making will be radically altered because of the increased programming options available at lower cost. Third, CPB supports the station program cooperative (along with the Ford Foundation) with matching dollars for the money committed by stations. This has encouraged the stations to purchase programs through the cooperative.

Finally, and crucially, CPB supports pilot projects and contributes to the first two years of production for selected programs. This gives the Corporation important power over the future of public television programming. The station program cooperative tends to select programs from among those that already have had national exposure, a few inexpensive minor projects, and repackaged material (e.g., animation and Movietone News footage.) CPB production money is the major flexible source of funds for *new* projects. Federal projects and corporate underwriting sometimes help finance new productions; but these sources operate within limitations. Government agencies such as the National Endowments for the Humanities and the Arts and HEW can only pay

for projects that fall within their domain (e.g., health care), and corporate underwriters tend to be cautious about supporting anything that might prove controversial. The Ford Foundation once supported specific local programming projects along with "unrestricted" grants to producers of national programs. However, it is withdrawing from public television; and it has recently limited itself to general station support, support of research projects, support for fund-raising activities, and matching funds for the SPC.

Prior to the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, the single most important organization in non-commercial broadcasting was undoubtedly the Ford Foundation. Ford is a private, nonprofit institution that "seeks to identify and contribute to the solution of certain problems of national or international importance." Since 1951 it has spent close to $300 million on public broadcasting; and as late as fiscal year 1971 it still distributed more money to public television than CPB. While Ford's role in public television will be less important in the future, it remains one of the most important organizations in the current system. Grants and loans to the major producing stations allow them to undertake various projects, acquire new facilities, and underwrite proposals to the SPC. The allocation of matching funds to the SPC encourages its development. Ford has also sponsored research activities aimed at understanding and developing the PTV audience; and it actively supports local and national projects to increase the abilities of stations to support themselves through local income. In the future there will be a fund of roughly half a million dollars per year to support specific national public affairs programming. The Foundation's Office of Communications is located in New York City.

Another organization with a changing role in public television is the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. "During its fifty years, the NAEB has had many lives and many structures," its directory states. During the early years of public television, the Educational Television Stations (ETS) division of NAEB was the trade organization for the industry; and the annual NAEB convention was the main industry-wide meeting of the year. NAEB/ETS played a key role in the development of public television, representing the stations and their interests. During this period stations were members of the organization. The 1973 reorganization of PBS into a station-member organization resulted in changes in NAEB. ETS was merged with the new PBS. NAEB placed its emphasis on the membership of individual professionals. It now attempts to serve the needs of professionals who use "communications technology for educational and social purposes"—a group that includes significant numbers of people working in public television—by providing a variety of informational and organizational services. These include the publication of a regular newsletter and the journal of public broadcasting, *Public Telecommunications Review*, the establishment of professional training and management seminars, and the articulation of standards of professional performance.

The three instructional television libraries established under the 1962 USOE demonstration projects have all become major organizations in the overall PTV system. The Agency for Instructional Television (successor to NIT) is located in Bloomington, Indiana. AIT is a nonprofit organization established to "strengthen education through television and other

technologies." Its current Board of Directors includes twelve Americans appointed by the Council of Chief State School Officers and three Canadians appointed by the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education. AIT serves as a film and video library. It acquires, adapts and distributes television, audiovisual and related print materials for educational purposes. A recent survey indicates that 80% of the public television stations use instructional programs from AIT. The Agency defines its "primary function" as the "development and coordination of cooperative program projects involving state and provincial agencies," which pool resources to finance projects. This is the *consortium* approach to the development of new, high quality ITV programs:

> "Representatives of the consortium agencies meet with AIT staff members, members of the project's curriculum design team and other consultants, and the program producers to review the development of the television and related materials, plan information activities for proper introduction of the series, and plan effective utilization of the series. Actual production of the programs is done by selected agencies."

The producing agencies are usually public television licensees who are consortium members. Consortium production has already produced four major series: "Ripples" is a series for early childhood development of feelings, values, and other socio-emotional characteristics; "Images & Things" is an arts and humanities series for ten-to-thirteen-year-olds; "Inside/Out" won an Emmy for its emotional health education programs for eight-to-ten-year-olds; and "Bread & Butterflies" is a series enabling nine-to-twelve-year-olds to explore a variety of work and career attitudes and options. AIT consortium projects in development stages currently include television series on metric education, essential learning skills, and economic education.

The Great Plains National Instructional Television Library (GPNITL) is a more traditional library of instructional television programs located in Lincoln, Nebraska. GPNITL identifies, makes available and distributes video taped instructional television courses. More than three quarters of licensees responding indicated that they used ITV material from GPNITL. The library also offers 16mm film and kinescope materials. It is not actively involved in the production process, prefering to acquire material after it has been produced.

The library services of both AIT and GNPITL serve the ITV needs of public television through the extensive use of the "bicycling" system for circulation of videotape. To maintain low rental fees, a number of videotape copies of each program is made and circulated by mail among user stations. Some users choose to order or make their own copies of series they use frequently.

The ITV service of the Eastern Educational Network was the third result of the USOE demonstration projects. This developed in a manner quite different from the development of AIT or GPNITL. Almost all EEN members in the northeastern and mid-Atlantic states are served by the EEN interconnection, which is used for ITV during school hours. The interconnect schedule is developed by ITV representatives of the EEN member organizations. Programs come from member stations; and they are acquired from AIT and other nonprofit

sources. There is also a network-originated process for making acquisitions from commercial producers. The EEN also maintains an ITV library for use by members. The best of the member produced ITV programs are sold to other stations, state education departments, and colleges and universities. One of its greatest efficiencies is its ability to use a single master videotape for interconnected transmission to members. All members do not necessarily use each program. They each choose what they need, and plan ITV schedules accordingly.

Along with its ITV service, The EEN provides interconnected member stations in the northeast and mid-Atlantic states (and a number of non-interconnected "program service" members across the country) with an agency that can make group purchases, coordinate distribution of programs produced by members (with no charges for rights), and reschedule material distributed by PBS.

The two way, twenty-four hour interconnection allows many different stations to originate programming—including live coverage of events—for use by other members. It is also flexible enough to provide several different simultaneous feeds to a number of sub-regions in the network area. All EEN members are required to contribute six and a half hours of materials annually in addition to their membership dues. (Double credit is given for ITV hours.) Redistribution and exchange of locally produced material was the original basis for the existence of EEN. Note that members are required to submit a minimum amount of material, but EEN is not required to distribute all of it. Some programs are rejected. Many series developed for EEN in this manner have been picked up by PBS for national distribution. These include "The French Chef," "Wall Street Week," "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood," "Woman," "Aviation Weather" and others.

Recently, a different source of EEN material has gained increasing importance. The regional network has begun to provide interconnected and "program service" members with a considerable amount of programming acquired outside the public television system—mostly from the BBC and the commercial British TV system. The EEN can negotiate a group-buy price with whatever organization holds the American distribution rights to a series; it then polls members to determine the level of interest; and if enough members want to buy, the price to each is determined by a formula that accounts for station size and the number of buyers. The system works to the advantage of all parties because it cuts the overhead required to sell the same program to many different stations. EEN only has to buy a single copy of a given program; and salesmen do not have to visit each station to repeat the presentation of material. (Recently, PBS has announced a national "station acquisition market" to allow national group-buys in the same fashion.)

[An example is the case of "Monty Python's Flying Circus." American rights to the BBC series were owned by TIME/LIFE Films. EEN made a group buy which resulted in at least one members' station getting the series for 40% less than TIME/LIFE had been asking for the single city. When the series went on the air, it soon achieved the highest ratings ever achieved by a public television program in several cities.]

The EEN is currently located in Boston, down the road from WGBH.

CTW's Sesame Street

However, it has no technical facilities of its own, and relies on Boston, New York, Albany, and Hershey facilities (others are also used) for transmission of programs along its interconnection.

There are several other regional public television networks; but none has its own interconnection and none rivals the EEN in the scope of its activities. Only one has a noticeable impact on the overall functioning of the national PTV system, the Southern Educational Communications Association (SECA). SECA is located in Columbia, South Carolina close to the facilities of the South Carolina ETV Network. It provides both ITV and regional acquisition and distribution services to its members in the southeastern states. At the moment not all PTV licensees in these states are SECA members (many of the Florida stations dropped out to join the EEN program service); and SECA's programming activities are far less than those of EEN. (SECA's programming is more extensive than that of the regional networks in the mid-west and western states.) The importance of SECA to the total PTV system lies in its developing role as a producer of national series. "Firing Line" with William F. Buckley has been produced by SECA for several years. This year the regional network sold a new series called "Lowell Thomas Remembers" to the SPC. Located in a region that contains none of the major PTV producers, SECA may become a conduit through which public television in the south finds national exposure. (ITV from southern members of producing consortia has already been used extensively.)

18

There is a significant public television production center which is not part of a public television station—the Children's Television Workshop (CTW). Located across from Lincoln Center in New York City, CTW produces "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company." Last year these two series alone accounted for 21% of all hours broadcast by public television; and the morning airing of "Sesame Street" attracts more viewing homes than almost any other PTV programs. This year CTW has encountered its first unsuccessful project. An expensive health series for prime time audiences, "Feeling Good," failed to attract many viewers in both an hour-long format and a replacement half-hour format starring Dick Cavett.

Under President Joan Ganz Cooney, CTW has expanded its activities beyond television and beyond material for children. It now engages in several money-making ventures to support its non-profit activities; licensing the sale of books, puppets, and games featuring its characters; and even owning a minority share of a cable television system as an investment.

The workshop has on rare occasions been involved in controversy within the system. At first, the request to replace five hours of school television with "Sesame Street" met resistance; only half the stations gave it morning air time. One sore point was the desire of CTW to solicit viewer contributions for its programs. Member-supported stations fear that such appeals would reduce their own income base. They have a firm position on the issue, and the workshop does not appeal to viewers for support. In another case, hard bargaining took place to establish the nature of the CTW offerings to the SPC (number of new episodes, extension of rights, and so forth) and the amount the stations would be asked to pay. In sum, CTW is one of the most successful organizations in the public television system. It has a reputation for quality and for sound management. "Feeling Good" may have dulled some of the glitter; and "Sesame Street" is getting a bit familiar to be excited about (Children watching it today were not born when it first went on the air). Yet the two CTW children's programs have been public television's main American-made successes.

CTW and the four stations that serve as national production centers received three-quarters of all money spent on the production and acquisition of national public television programs in fiscal year 1975. Of the total $49.7 million spent on the production and acquisition of nationally distributed material, CTW received $17.2 million (34.6%). WNET/13 in New York received $7,872,000 or 15.8% of the total. The Boston station, WGBH, received $6,468,000 which came to 13.0% of the total. WETA/NPACT in Washington got $3,368,000 or 6.8% of the total. The Los Angeles station, KCET, received $2,190,000 representing 4.5% of all national production funds.

Channel 13 in the New York metropolitan area was not specifically assigned by the FCC for educational purposes. In fact, it was assigned to New Jersey rather than New York. Yet in 1962, the Educational Broadcasting Corporation purchased this channel from its owners with funds supplied by the Ford Foundation, local commercial television interests (who wanted to reduce the competition for advertising money), and others. With the coming of CPB and PBS at the end of the decade, the original National Educational Television organization merged with Channel 13, which changed its call letters to become WNET. Today, the public television station in New York is by far the largest

local organization in the system. It has the most viewers, the highest total budget, the largest membership, and the greatest auction income. It also produces more material for the national system than any single station; although WNET programs by no means dominate the public television airwaves. WNET has produced drama ("Theater in America"), public affairs ("Bill Moyers' Journal"), educative ("The Thin Edge") and minority ("Black Journal") programming.

WGBH in Boston was one of the pioneer public television stations. It first went on the air in 1955; and since that time it has been one of the leaders of the industry. Channel 2 in Boston has consistently been at or near the top of the list of public television stations in terms of both average ratings and the proportion of the population that contributes to its support. In recent years, WGBH has contributed many major series to the national system. Some of these ("Masterpiece Theater" and "The Ascent of Man") have been repackaging of acquisitions from abroad; some have been musical productions ("Evening at the Pops" and "Evening at Symphony"); science ("NOVA"), how-to (Romagnoli's Table"), children's ("ZOOM"). Other programs are also represented among WGBH productions. It is important to note that where New York, Los Angeles, and Washington all have extensive national commercial television activity, the only regular national exposure for television from Boston is on public television.

Public television in the nation's capital is represented by WETA, channel 26, which began broadcasting to metropolitan Washington in 1961. Severely hindered by the fact that it is assigned to channel 26, WETA attracts a relatively high proportion of viewers for a UHF public TV station. Part of WETA is the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT), which was originally an independent organization. WETA/NPACT is responsible for much of the national current events coverage on public television. It produced coverage of the Watergate hearings. Recently, WETA/NPACT proposals for ambitious *daily* public affairs programming from Washington have been rejected by the stations in SPC-2. The station was successful in obtaining funds for its popular "Washington Week in Review" series, a less ambitious nightly news/public affairs offering called "Evening Edition" which had been a popular EEN series, live coverage of special events, and coverage of the 1976 Presidential primaries. WETA has also produced musical performance series and a minority series for the national system.

KCET is housed in an old motion picture studio in Hollywood. It is an impressive facility. However, public television in Los Angeles has been unsuccessful in its attempts to purchase a VHF channel; so, KCET is forced to remain on channel 28, where it has been operating since 1964. Los Angeles may be a natural location for television production; but KCET is far behind both WNET and WGBH in its production activities for the national system. Its ambitions were amply expressed by its ten entries in SPC-2; and its current status was reflected by the fact that only "Hollywood Television Theater" was purchased by the stations. Nevertheless, KCET has established a reputation as a producer of drama. As a result of a $10 million project, "Visions," supported by CPB, The Ford Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Arts, it is likely to become an increasingly important center of national production.

NATIONAL MONEY

"We have a tremendous responsibility to the people of this country in making sure that public broadcasting not only survives, but that it flourishes."

—Sen. Pastore, March 1973 Hearings

The tables and figures presented in this section show the financial magnitude of the national public television system. In fiscal year 1974, a total of more than $245.5 million was spent on public television activities, and various institutions provided additional support worth $16.5 million to bring the total industry figure to just over $260 million.

Cash support for public television is not concentrated at a single source. Figure 1 shows that state governments, the federal government, local governmental agencies, colleges, foundations, subscribers, auctions, and businesses all contribute to the support of public television. Figure 2 shows the flow of funds within the system, and Table 1 gives the details. It is clear that the bulk of the money spent on public television goes to support the operations of local stations. Although precise figures are not available, it appears that no more than 10% of the $226 million spent by local stations went toward creation and support of programs that were used by other stations. Thus, 90% of the money spent by local stations—78% of all money in public television—was used for local programming and operating expenses.

When more recent data are available, an examination should reveal several trends of importance. Public TV income from several sources has been increasing rapidly. Member subscriptions and auction income has grown from year to year (up 68% from fiscal year 1972 to fiscal year 1974); and the rate of growth has not slackened as more and more stations begin extensive fund raising efforts. Underwriting support from national and local corporate sources has grown significantly in recent years—it jumped from $5 million in fiscal year 1972 to nearly $8 million in fiscal year 1973 to over $15 million in 1974; and in 1975 underwriting for *national* programs alone came to $12.4 million. Another growing source of income has been state support. In recent years the legislatures of several states have provided financial support for public television. Additional states appear to be on the verge of joining this trend. State support of public television seems to rest on two activities: coverage of statewide public issues (especially coverage of the legislature in states such as Florida) and the use of public television as an effective statewide instrument of instruction in classrooms and/or for continuing education. Finally, there has been a continuous growth in the contributions of the federal government to public television. Federal support includes the annual CPB appropriation as well as the facilities grants to local stations and direct support of specific projects from several government departments and endowments. (HEW has supported the educational and health care projects for CTW. The National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have supported specific public television programs. Other projects, including this report, have had partial or full support from federal agencies.)

Two traditional sources of public television support have not increased in importance over the last few years. The Ford Foundation's phased withdrawal has not been balanced by an increasing number of grants from smaller foundations. Thus, total foundation support is declining. Local school boards are faced with financial crises across the country, and ITV support is one of the first "frills" to be cut. It appears that public television support from local tax sources—school and municipal funds—will not show significant growth, and will thus become a smaller proportion of an increasing annual total expenditure.

The structure described by the flow chart in Figure 2 has been changing in addition to the changes in the magnitude of money flowing through the system. The advent of the station program cooperative means that money now flows from local stations back to PBS, which in turn distributes these funds plus matching money from Ford and CPB to the producers of funded programs. Another structural relationship that is not clearly shown by a money flow chart is the interaction among producers. CPB, PBS, Ford, Federal Agencies, and corporate underwriters as they decide to provide money for national productions. Of one hundred-eighteen national projects funded for 1974-75, thirty-six were supported by more than one source. (The proportion among national *series* was twenty-five jointly financed projects among sixty-one programs.) Program financing decisions at the national level tend to require the involvement and agreement of several interested parties. Particular organizations may initiate and support national program concepts, but other organizations are usually involved before any production funds are committed.

Figure 3 divides the fiscal year 1975 national production budget by source of funds. Nearly fifty million dollars were spent for programs that were distributed by PBS in the 1974-75 season. (The word "national" has been used. It is imprecise because there have been several series acquired by many stations outside the PBS distribution system, e.g. "Monty Python," and because nationally circulated ITV programs are not included. The $50 million total covers only programs fed by PBS.) Corporate sources contributed a quarter of these national production funds, federal money added another 21%, local station funds provided another 5%. Direct support from CPB amounted to 10% of the total, foundation support came to 14%, and the SPC provided 25% of national production money; however, these proportions reflect direct decisions made by CPB, foundations and the stations. In fiscal year 1975 three fourths of the funds spent by the SPC came from Ford and CPB (which got almost all of its money from the federal government). Thus the division of the ultimate *sources* of production money is not shown by Figure 3, which is an accurate reflection of the division of authority under which money was spent.

Data on the overall public television system in fiscal year 1975 will not be available for some time. The nearly fifty million dollars for national production, however, will certainly be no more than 20% of the nonduplicated money spent by the entire system. It is more likely to be on the order of 15% of total nonduplicated funds.

An investigation of national programming decisions in detail is beyond the scope of this project. However, there are a number of clear relationships between the sources of national production funds and the kinds of programs

that are produced for national distribution. Certain observable pressures help determine the mix of programs available to local stations, thus influencing local programming alternatives.

The newest source of national production funds is the Station Program Cooperative. After two years of operation, this mechanism has pooled funds from local stations (plus matching money from Ford and CPB) to purchase twenty-five offerings in its first year and thirty-eight in its second year. The evidence tends to indicate that the SPC mechanism encourages stations to pay for production of series they have already had on the air, add funds to partially underwritten, inexpensive (per unit time) projects, and repackage already existing material such as animation and newsreel footage. One important aspect of the SPC is that it currently prohibits entry to producers other than stations and established members of the PTV system (CTW, FCI—for "Mister Rogers," and BCTV for "Villa Alegre"). Outside producers must either work through a station or obtain other funding sources—CPB, corporations, etc. The SPC provided 45% of all support for national public affairs funding in fiscal year 1974, more than any other source. This raises the question of where new, expensive public affairs series will come from

At present the best answer seems to be that foundation funds are the only important source for the development of new national PTV public affairs programs. In fiscal year 1974, foundations supplied 34% of the dollars spent on programs of this type. Among the foundations represented were: Lilly Endowment, Ford, Martin Weiner, Rockefeller, National Economists Club, and the Anderson Foundation. The three million dollars they provided for national public affairs programs represented 42% of all foundation funds for national programming. (This excludes Ford's matching funds to SPC.) Corporations provided 10% of public affairs funding, and CPB contributed 4% (exclusive of its SPC matching funds).

CPB is in a difficult position in regard to the financing of national programs. It is under pressure from PBS to contribute more toward the SPC; but it also faces pressures from outside the industry. The Corporation has established an Advisory Council of National Organizations (ACNO) composed of 45 major voluntary, professional, religious, public interest and educational organizations. Since ACNO membership represents organizations with specific goals and reasons for existence, it tends to focus its concern on the needs of various target groups. Pressures from ACNO appear to be toward CPB support of projects that have an educative value or provide service to specific target groups such as ethnic minorities, women or the elderly. In addition, CPB is faced with congressional interest in these same areas. Both ACNO and various congressmen have expressed their interest in matters such as public broadcasting employment practices. In the realm of programming, they create a force toward the financing of educative and target group projects by CPB. In 1974, more than half of CPB's national program funds went to educative projects ("Feeling Good" and "Nova"), another 11% went toward "Interface," a target group program. This year CPB has become even more heavily involved in target group programming, funding hispanic, black, women's, and elderly projects. (Financial data are not available at this writing.)

Corporate underwritings, on the other hand, tend to stay clear of

controversial public affairs material and look for programming with mass appeal. (Thus, they are not very interested in small target groups, although they have supported children's and educative programming.) In 1974, 29% of the national funds for cultural programs came from three oil companies: Mobil, Exxon, and Atlantic Richfield. More than two thirds of all funds for cultural programming came from outside underwriting sources. It can be expected that in the future corporate underwriting will play a major role in financing drama, music, and even some types of documentaries (e.g., "National Geographic Specials" underwritten this year by Gulf Oil). Public broadcasting executives and development directors have no hesitation in presenting corporate public relations departments with information about the "opinion leaders" reached by underwriting credits before and after each program. Corporate underwriting provides an important source of support for the production of high-budget PTV programming; but the areas of content to which significant money will be given is probably limited.

Another contributor to national production funds is the federal government. Through direct arrangements, several agencies have supported projects falling under the scope of their operations. HEW continued to support "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" through 1974. The U.S. Office of Education contributed over four million dollars, supporting "Carrascolendas" and "Villa Alegre"—both bi-cultural children's programs—and a project to rebroadcast the ABC news with written captions for people with impaired hearing. The National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have also committed significant funds for national PTV programming. Federal contributions may increase in the future, although this is not certain from some quarters—especially HEW; but it appears limited to two spheres. There can be support for cultural offerings in the arts and humanities, and there can be support for specific target groups and educational projects. These limitations are happily within a range that pleases public broadcasting. The industry does not want federal funds for public affairs coverage, fearing the potential for political interference.

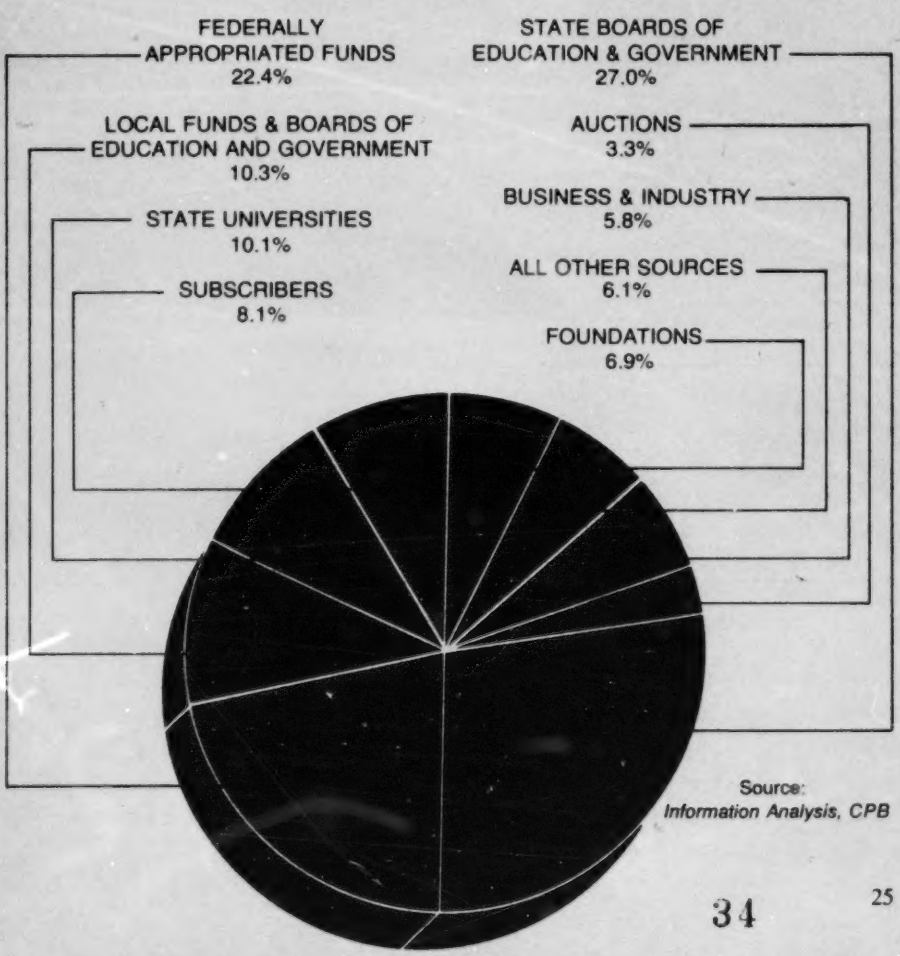
It is important to note the critical marginal importance of national production funds. Local public television stations require a great deal of money simply to remain on the air. These are relatively fixed costs required to sustain over 240 stations. Yet the main staples of these stations are the high quality national productions fed by PBS. (Only 11% of all air time is local material.) Thus, an additional dollar for national production has greater impact than an additional dollar for local operations. Each national production dollar eventually affects most of the stations. A dollar for local operations can affect only one broadcaster.

At present, the reality of public television is such that it is possible to make a strong case for both a significant increase in funds for local operations and a significant increase in national production funds. Local stations are underequipped, understaffed and their employees often underpaid by comparison to the commercial television industry. On the other hand, the most attractive national programming tends to be expensive British material that is purchased at bargain rates. At current funding levels, decisions to produce expensive national series such as "Theater in America," "Nova," "Bill Moyers' Journal," or

"Zoom" are difficult to make. It is to the credit of public television that high-quality American-made programs are appearing with increasing frequency. On the other hand, there are still many ambitious projects that are not begun because the funds are simply not available. Within a restricted national production budget, an order of priorities must dictate which programs are produced; and at the moment the *de facto* order of priorities comes from a variety of interacting organizations, each responding to its own interests. CPB is supposed to fill the gaps with material to provide a "balanced" group of programs; but it too is subject to pressures for certain types of programming.

Figure 1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME (NONDUPLICATED) OF PUBLIC TELEVISION, BY SOURCE: FISCAL YEAR 1974



Source:
Information Analysis, CPB

Table I

MONEY FLOW OF PUBLIC TELEVISION SYSTEM: FISCAL YEAR 1974

(Dollars in millions)

INCOME BY MAJOR SOURCE

1. Federal Government Support	
Total	$ 58.44
For Independent Producers (CTW and FCI)	4.25
For CPB (Television portion)	40.46
For Facilities Grants	8.13
For Licensees & Others (Licensees, Regional and State Networks, Libraries, and Other Organizations: for Special Projects)	5.60
2. Foundations Support	
Total	$ 18.01
For Independent Producers	.81
For CPB	1.24
For PBS	.66
For Licensees and Others	15.30
3. State Tax Sources, Including State Universities	
Total	$ 96.49
For Licensees & Others	96.49
4. Local Tax Sources	
Total	$ 26.91
For Licensees & Others	26.91
5. Business and Industry	
Total	$ 15.17
For Independent Producers	1.79
For CPB	.86
For PBS	.51
For Licensees & Others	12.01
6. Subscribers and Auctions	
Total	$ 29.67
For Licensees and Others	29.67
7. All Other Sources	
Total	$ 15.86
For Independent Producers	5.02
For CPB	.52
For PBS	.51
For All Others	9.81
8. Grand Total (non-duplicated)	$260.55

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS

Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB)

Income:	
Total (Television Portion)	$ 43.08
Federal Government	40.46
Foundation	1.24
Business and Industry	.86
All Others	.52
Expenditures:	
Total (Television Portion)	$ 43.08
Independent Producers	7.00
PBS	8.41
CPB	2.03
Licensees & Others*	25.64

Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)

Income:	
Total	$ 12.45
CPB	8.41
Intra-industry	2.65
Foundation	.66
Business	.51
Federal	.17
All Others	.15
Expenditures:	
Total	$ 12.45
Intra-industry	1.07
PBS expenditures	10.26
All Others*	1.12

Independent Producers (CTW and FCI)

Income:	
Total	$ 18.87
Federal	4.25
CPB	7.00
Foundation	.81
Business & Industry	1.79
All Others	5.02
(CTW portion)	($ 17.57)
Expenditures:	
Total	$ 18.84
Intra-industry	.41
CTW & FCI Expenditures*	18.43

Licensees and others

Income:	
Total	$225.91
Federal	13.56
CPB	21.08
PBS	.40
Independent Producers	.41
State	96.49
Local	26.91
Foundation	15.30
Business	12.01
Subscriber	21.15
Auctions	8.53
All Other*	10.08

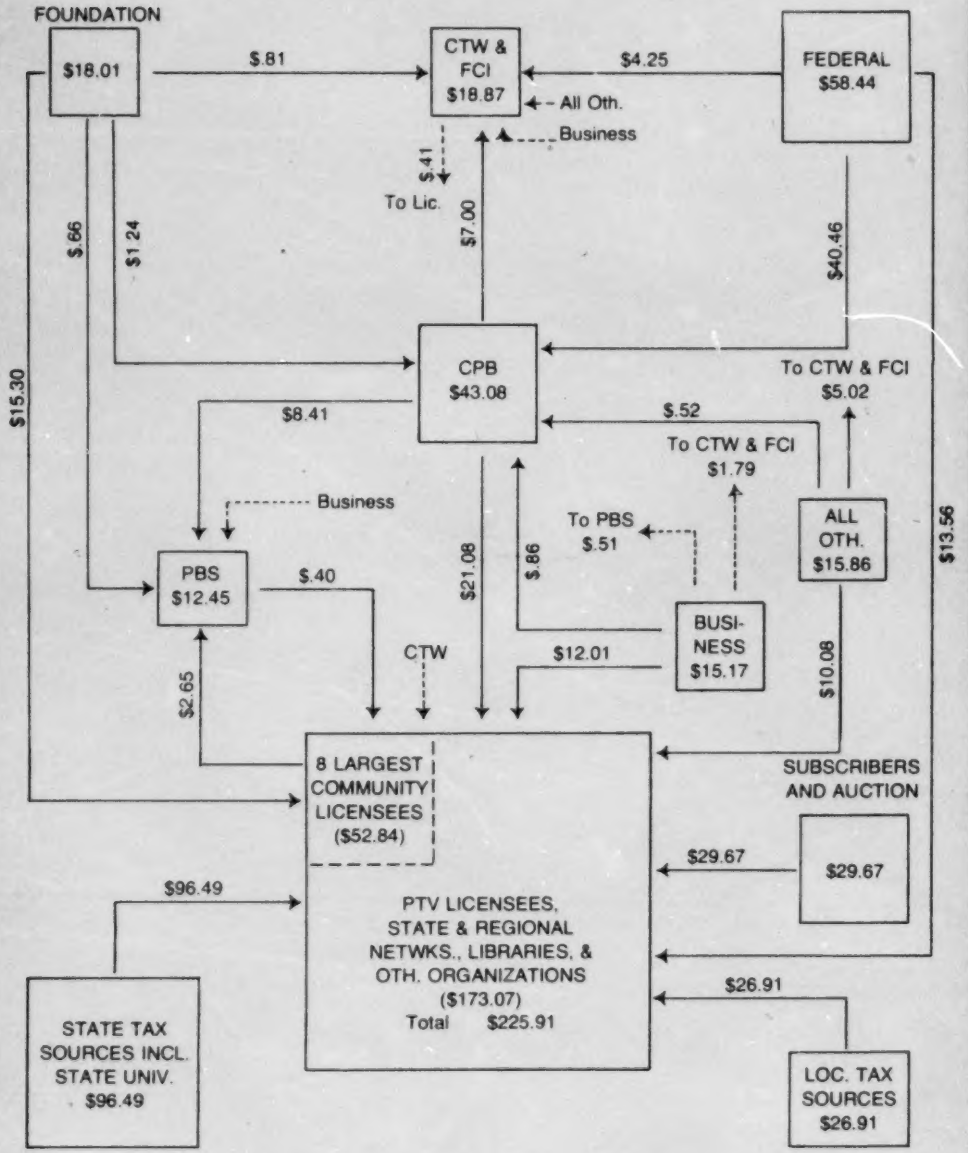
Source: *Information Analysis, CPB*

*Includes transfer funds to the following fiscal year.

Figure 2

PUBLIC TELEVISION SYSTEMS MONEY FLOW CHART: FISCAL YEAR 1974

(Dollars in Millions and Boxes Drawn to Scale)

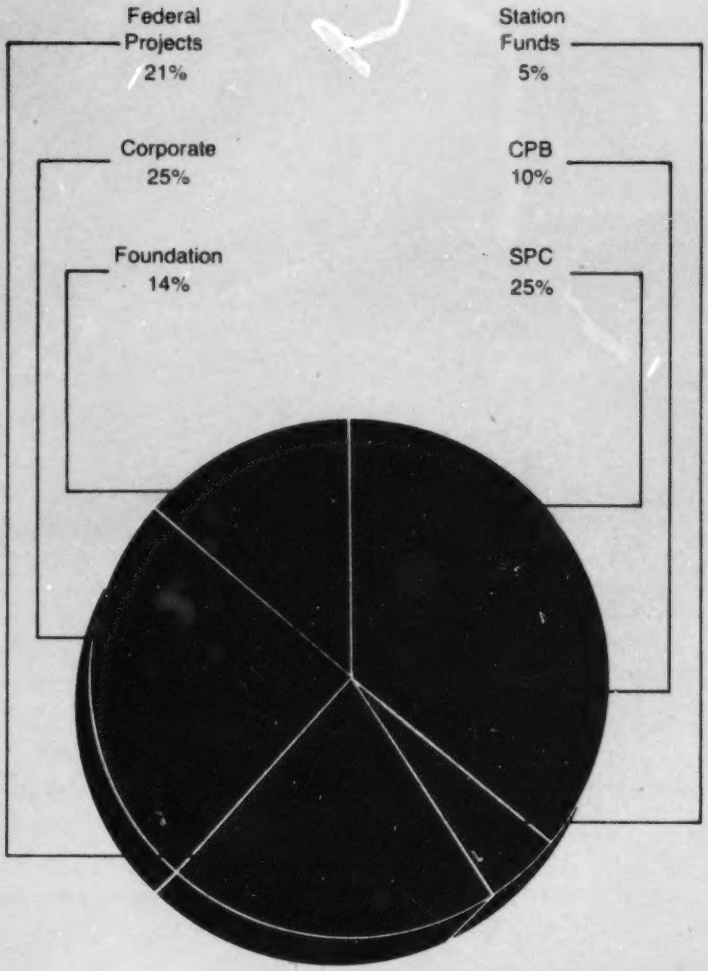


Source: *CPB Information Analysis*

Figure 3

SOURCES OF NATIONAL PROGRAM FUNDING

(Fiscal 1975, Total $49 7 Million)



LOCAL PUBLIC TELEVISION

"America is geographically diverse, ethnically diverse, widely diverse in its interests. . . . Until excellence and diversity have been joined, we do not make best use of our miraculous instrument."

—Carnegie Commission Report

Within constraints imposed on all stations by less than adequate funds and the programs available from the national service, programming policy decisions at most PTV stations are influenced by a combination of technical limitations, attitudes and personality of station management, perceived community taste, standards, needs and wants, available talent, the need to obtain local support, and the supply of programs from sources outside PBS.

For purposes of analysis, PTV broadcasters can be divided into five archetypal groups: large member-supported stations, medium and smaller member-supported stations, state networks, smaller stations at colleges and universities, and smaller school board stations. The diversity of the system necessarily means that no simple group of categories will create a perfect fit. Some stations are uniquely beyond categorization, and others straddle categories. These groupings will be used here to present a concise overview of local operations.

THE GENERAL SITUATION

"It's naive to think that one can really open up for full discussion the various approaches to systems."

—C. W. Churchman, *The Systems Approach*

It would be easy to limit this report to a discussion of how much money the system needs. Undoubtedly, the two most important limitations on local station

programming operations are budget : e and the menu of programs made available by PBS. However, it is wrong to assume that the content of public television is determined solely by these constraints. There are certainly local programming desires that can only be fulfilled if there is more money; but there are also a significant number of policy decisions that determine what is broadcast within these financial constraints. Even with scanty budgets and limited alternatives from PBS, the diversity of local program schedules demonstrates a diversity of programming philosophies and a wide range of decisions made under a large number of influences. A discussion of local programming decisions must continually shift back and forth between availability and financial limitations and more subtle social, political and personality factors that also influence public broadcasting.

A brief list of programming limitations due to lack of sufficient funds can probably serve as a useful introduction for those who are less familiar with the problem. At current funding levels, public television faces the following chronic problems, although individual stations vary considerably:

a. Insufficient equipment. Some stations cannot produce much local programming for lack of adequate hardware; some need more or better film chains and color videotape facilities to reduce dependence on national interconnection schedules; poor transmitter quality often means that PTV stations—especially those on UHF channels—cannot be seen by many homes in their communities.

b. Inadequate technical staffs. Public television is poor, and often cannot afford to pay for enough technicians who are competent at high levels. Some stations have equipment they cannot use because they cannot pay crews. Other stations have difficult maintenance problems because technicians do not have the time (or the ability) to keep aging equipment in good repair or to upgrade their skills.

c. Inadequate production staffs and on-air talent. With a low budget you face the problem of deciding between hiring few people at competitive salaries or more people at non-competitive salaries. The former decision lowers the quantity of local production, the latter lowers the quality. (One interesting phenomenon is that young, inexperienced people start with PTV; then, if and when they show talent, they are hired away by commercial stations offering more money. Only the very dedicated and the less competent remain.)

d. Inability to produce much local programming. Regardless of staff and hardware quality, the cost of professional quality production prohibits more than a limited amount of anything beyond "talking heads."

e. Lack of flexibility. Some stations cannot afford to respond to rapidly developing community needs. With budgets tight, there is often no extra money for film stock or a remote unit when there is a civil disturbance, a natural disaster, an event that deserves local coverage, or an unexpected need to enlighten the community on some issues. Public stations often cannot afford to pay overtime

and often have no real contingency fund.

f. Inability to create awareness of programs. The lack of significant budgets for promotion obliquely affects programming decisions. Some programs are worth showing (or producing) only if one expects a particular target audience will be watching. Why rush to produce a special on a burning issue in the community if there is no way to inform the community that it will be broadcast?
g. Reliance on national service for quality and quantity. Stations often must carry PBS feed because they cannot afford to keep themselves on the air otherwise, and because nothing they can produce can match the quality of PBS feed.
h. Programs that require a station to spend its own funds (i.e., SPC purchases and acquisitions) are limited to known and/or inexpensive alternatives. Under tight budgets, purchases must be made under conditions of minimum risk. A known program can be judged worthy of a high price; but it is difficult for a station to risk precious funds on an ambitious untried concept. Foreign acquisitions are bargains, since their production costs have been paid, and they can be screened and examined prior to purchase.

The second major influence on local programming decisions is the finite number of non-local programs available. Regardless of whether PBS, AIT, a regional network, or some other source makes programs available, and regardless of whether these programs are free or purchased or part of a system of exchange, the fact remains that less than one out of nine hours broadcast by public television has been produced by the local station. This indicates the degree to which individual stations choose from a list of alternatives that is not under their direct control. (SPC voting and group buying activities of the EEN give *groups* of stations the power to determine what will be available. Single stations vote for acquisitions from among offerings. But a program will be acquired only if enough stations give their support.) If a station wants *less* material of a given type than is available there is no problem, it is free to ignore the PBS feed and faces no compulsion to buy specific programs it does not want. However, a station that wants to carry a kind of programming not available from one of its regular distribution sources may have no place to turn.

The limitations imposed by the list of nationally available programs are compounded to some degree by the day and time of which programs are fed by the interconnection. If a station feels that the time of a PBS feed is inappropriate, it faces the choice of either broadcasting at an unwanted hour or paying the cost of a tape and delay showing. If PBS is choosing the best feed times for programs, pressures forcing stations to carry programs as fed are beneficial. (For one thing, it is possible to develop national publicity.) In the future, multi-channel satellite distribution may remove the economic pressures to carry a given program at a given time; but at present, stations must also cope with a PBS feed that includes SPC programs they did not purchase. The ability to ignore or revise PBS feeds varies by type of station; this will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

To the extent that public television has a central philosophy it is represented by the term "alternative service." This undefined concept means different things to different licensees. To some it implies a need to provide news

and commentary that give an alternative to network newscasts; to some it implies a mandate to educate via programs specifically designed to instruct; to some it implies the need to provide material of high "cultural" value—plays, operas, ballets; to some it implies coverage of otherwise obscure events such as minor sports; to some it implies becoming a medium of record—a recorder of events for posterity; to some it implies acting as an agent of change in the community; to some it implies providing programs that interest a limited but unserved audience. Actually, most public broadcasters seem to see alternative service as some combination of many of these factors, which are then given varying relative importance.

Here are two program managers' comments, taken from a PBS survey, about the same program: "As I see ETV's role—it is the essential type of programming". . . . "(such) programs are inappropriate on public television." In the same survey, the average rating among program managers in the northeast indicated that the amount of public affairs programming was "just right"; but half of the respondents thought it was not "just right"—25% thought there was too much and 25% thought there was too little.

Within a station, individuals often differ in their goals; but there tends to be more agreement within an operation than there is across operations. Yet, beyond the ability to say "We are here to provide alternative services," most (but not all) licensees tend to avoid articulating an explicit programming philosophy. This may be a sign of the pragmatism of the people running the system. It would be a meaningless intellectual exercise to clearly state the philosophical *raison d'être* of a local public television operation that did not have the resources to implement a broad programming policy. It is hard to escape the conclusion that some of the stated goals of some stations would change rapidly under different economic and social conditions. Thus, it would be premature to commit a station to an overall policy that may be unsuited for the future.

Authority to operate a non-commercial television station and legal responsibility for all decisions lies with some form of Board of Directors for every public television licensee. Authority can be delegated, responsibility cannot. In actual practice, however, the main functions of Boards have been the selection of station management and support of various station fund raising activities—ranging from membership drives to legislative testimony. The decisions taken at the Board level tend to involve issues of broad policy, finance and employment. Since the transformation of PBS a number of members of local PTV Boards have also become active members of the PBS Board of Governors.

Practical daily programming decisions are made by a station manager and/or a program manager. (In most cases, ITV programming decisions are made elsewhere.) Many of their choices would probably be the same if made by their Boards. In almost all other cases, managers feel that either they could justify their actions to the Board's satisfaction or that the Board allows them sufficient leeway. Among the station managers there appears to be a feeling that their Boards never exert overt pressure in the area of programming. The consensus (although not unanimous) seems to be that members of the Boards rarely express an awareness of programming, although individual members sometimes make inquiries that receive prompt attention.

The relationship and division of authority between station managers

and program managers varies among stations. At one station the general manager makes all key decisions and no one would act without consulting him. At another station there is a separation of authority; but one feels that the program manager is always looking over his shoulder. At still another station the program manager is supreme in the area of programming. Some stations divide programming and production responsibility between a program manager and production manager; others maintain both types of decisions in the hands of one person. Many stations delegate all authority over programming for use in schools to an independent department of the station or even an autonomous committee designated by the school system(s) using the programs.

Two factors must be kept in mind when considering station programming decisions. First, all influences and components of decisions are part of an interconnected system. The outcomes of earlier decisions affect the nature of later decisions. Influences on policy are in turn influenced by policy. Second, pressures often exist as expectations rather than as a result of any overt threat. Broadcasters know that if they put on a certain type of program they will be in trouble. They do not have to try it to find out, and nobody has told them not to air such things. The expectation of good or bad consequences of a decision is as much of an influence on that decision as a threat or promise of consequences from an outside source. Feedback to broadcasters is erratic and limited; but they expect certain responses to certain types of programs.

The most critical factor influencing local programming policy after money and program availability presents analytic problems. Personal preferences and attitudes of station managers and program managers are the third key to understanding programming policy. The people who control programming come to their jobs with personal views and personal goals for their stations. These views and goals determine the type of program schedule that a station broadcasts. Personality variables are part of an interconnected system. Station managers often reflect the nature of the community in which they choose to work and the organizations that choose to employ them. And even managers with the most unique attitudes cannot create programming without money; nor can they totally ignore the PBS feed.

Many personal characteristics of station managers affect the tone of general station operations. Some managers consolidate authority, some delegate authority. Some managers insist on a tidy operation as the key to efficiency, others prefer a more relaxed atmosphere. Some are skilled broadcasters, some are skilled managers, some are skilled financiers, some are skilled politicians. All have a number of these skills, many are deficient in some areas. The styles of general station operations vary; and one tends to feel a surprisingly large impact of top level personalities on the overall mood of a station.

One area that has considerable effects on programming is the background of decision makers. At several stations the men in charge have a background in news, public affairs or documentary film production. It is not surprising that these stations are oriented toward public affairs—programs on local and non-local issues—as their definition of alternative service. The news oriented managers tend to be involved with community action as a component of public affairs; but they may see their stations more as suppliers of information than as instruments of change or protest.

Other decision makers might be called professional managers. Their stations tend to be run as efficienctly as any, and their programming tends to be based on pragmatic considerations. What is available? What can we do best? What will induce the most support? What will cause the least complaint?

Another type of manager takes the role of "educator." This orientation is toward programming for skills or instruction or culture. Neither the pragmatist nor the educator wishes to see public television dominated by public affairs programming, but they have different reasons. The pragmatist feels that such programming often cannot compete with the quality of the networks and is a waste of money. The educator feels that PTV should not be in the news business.

A final component of management personality might be called activism. This is independent of personal or professional orientation. Simply put, managers vary in the degree to which they feel their stations *should be* involved with and responsive to the political and social needs of their communities. At one extreme is a relatively small station that spends a large part of its production budget to produce a weekly local program for blacks and another weekly local program for chicanos. At the other extreme is a major city station that produces almost no minority oriented programs although its signal could theoretically reach as many as half a million black viewers. Although there currently is not such a wide difference between most stations' activities, differences in management activism will appear if there is ever sufficient money for extensive local production.

The relationship between station management and a community reflects management's perceptions of the community. There can be no "objective" answers to questions of community tastes or needs, only an approximation of overall attitudes and opinions. In the past, station management based its perception of its community on a narrow band of contacts plus the "common knowledge" that is available to most people at a similar socio-economic level. At present, the expectation of an FCC rule has generated considerable interest in "ascertaining community needs."

Most PTV stations are currently obtaining some type of input from their communities. Many have an advisory group (although the method of choosing such groups and their representativeness varies) and at least one has actively recruited minority group members for its Board of Directors. In communities where minority groups are organized, the local public station is one place they bring their demands. (At one station there was a picket line put up by a minority group demanding services estimated to be worth $300,000 to $600,000.) Where such groups are neither organized nor militant they are not visible to local stations except when management looks for them.

Local station management *believes* it knows its own community. Of course it is difficult to test this belief; but many managers admit that their input is limited. They tend to base some judgments on letters and phone calls—the most irate sometimes from people who did not see the program they complain about. However, they know this is an unrepresentative sample of opinion. They pay attention to newspaper reviews. They listen to what people are talking about. And they acquire, after some time, a sense of the taste and standards of their home towns. They feel that they know whether or not a nude ballet will be accepted and when they have to bleep an obscenity or blasphemy. There is a

Types of Public Te

AMERICAN SAMOA, Non-Domestic/Govt. of American Samoa
Pago Pago

AMERICAN SAMOA, Non-Domestic/Govt. of American Samoa
Pago Pago
GUAM, Non-Domestic/Govt. of Guam
Agana
PUERTO RICO, Non-Domestic/Dept. of Education, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
San Juan
Mayaguez
VIRGIN ISLANDS, Non-Domestic/Dept. of Education, U.S. Virgin Islands
St. Thomas

HAWAII, State Network
Honolulu
Maui
ALASKA
Anchorage, Member Supported Community Licensee
Bethel, Member Supported Community Licensee
Fairbanks, University Licensee

vision Stations—1975

LEGEND

- ■ Member Supported Community Licensee
- □ Member Supported/Not a Community Licensee
- ● College or University Licensee
- ▲ State Network
- ★ School Board
- — Interconnected Network, Single Schedule
- - - State Supported Interconnection, Independent Schedule and Independent Station

range of expected community response—in some places managers expect a flurry of indignation over some types of content, and in other places the same content is not expected to cause trouble. Independent of expectations, different managers respond differently to potential complaints. Some are extremely sensitive—they will not air material that may create an uproar. Others feel very strongly that it is their duty to resist pressures if the program has merit.

From the most avant garde metropolis to the most conservative town there is almost unanimous agreement that some community tastes and standards have changed significantly in the last few years. Especially interesting is the case of standards on obscenity and blasphemy. (The two are not the same, and elicit responses from different people.) Many terms are becoming less objectionable, and in some cases objections are made only if the wrong words are used by the wrong people or in the wrong context.

On the other hand, political standards vary widely over different communities; and political pressures sometimes influence local programming decisions through a unique interplay between pressure groups and the personality and perceptions of management. A protest that may cause one manager to pull a program may be dismissed as the work of a crackpot by another.

There are traditional right wing complaints about the "radical" content of public television. (Not the conservative view of the "east coast liberal bias"—which is a complaint shared by some management—but the kind of complaint that condemns a Casals concert from the U.N. because it is a communist organization.) These are usually ignored. Conservative protests against the "liberal bias" may only be heeded in the context of a community that is *perceived* to be conservative. Liberal protests—especially from the groups that have heard about a PBS program which is not going to be run locally—seem to embarass managers. Like conservative protest, liberal protest has an influence on programming policy to the extent that it is perceived to be consistent with community standards. The only cases in which liberal or conservative complaints will affect programming when the community leans in the other direction, occur when such complaints are consistent with the personal views of station management. In such cases, management is usually found on the side of "balance" or "freedom of speech" regardless of political preference.

The needs and wants of a local community are interpreted by station management from different viewpoints, and produce widely differing responses. The heart of these differences lies in the differences between goals of various stations. Just as everyone in public television wants to provide "alternative service," everyone is also committed to "serving the community." (The FCC requires community service of all broadcasters; but public broadcasters seem to feel that they should do more than commercial stations.) Techniques of determining community needs and techniques of meeting discovered needs are usually consistent with the overall philosophy of a station. Thus, some stations wait for input that indicates something they can do (if they have the money) to serve their community. Other stations allocate funds for community service and actively seek areas in which they can help.

A common baseline for community service appears in election years. Most public television stations allocate some time to the presentation of candidates and issues to the electorate. Most often, this takes the form of a candidates'

night or nights in which contestants for office are invited to appear at the station. Sometimes not all of the candidates are able or willing to appear; but the FCC requirements for "equal time" are typically interpreted to mean that all parties should have access to exposure, not that they all must be seen. Formats for candidates' nights include simple statements by candidates, interviews, and programs in which viewers can phone in questions. Organizations such as The League of Women Voters are sometimes asked to participate. Additional coverage of referenda and ballot propositions is often desired by the stations; but the cost of production limits the quality of coverage.

The area of programming to meet *local* minority needs is one of the most uneven in public television. The range and quantity of this type of program is determined by money, management personality and the degree to which minority communities are active. (The degree of *opposition* to minority programming can also be a factor; and several stations have negligible minority populations in the communities—for them the issue does not exist.) In some communities, even where the station perceives sufficient need or demand for local minority programming, there is no money . . . thus, no programs.

In sum, it is difficult to estimate the influence of perceived community needs and wants on programming because the response to community needs is typically best met by local production that is beyond the scope of the stations' resources.

The preceding discussion of factors that influence local public television programming and some of the thinking by local decision-makers has been necessarily vague and tentative. One of the clearest attributes of local stations is their diversity, and it would be a mistake to go too far with sweeping generalizations about the thinking and environments in so many different situations. The next section of this chapter will attempt to narrow the focus. It will examine, again in a general fashion, the programming process in five arbitrary station typologies.

The basics at all stations are the same (except in the area of instructional programs). There is a PBS feed; someone decides to use programs as they come in or delay, delete, or repeat them; additional programs-acquisitions, local productions, delays or repeats are used to fill any gaps made in the schedule and all air time during which there is no feed. Local programming policy is nothing more than a series of decisions that produces a broadcast schedule.

DECISIONS AND STATION TYPES

> *" 'Please, would you tell me,' said Alice, a little timidly, 'why your cat grins like that?' 'It's a Cheshire-Cat,' said the Duchess, 'and that's why'."*
>
> *—Alice in Wonderland*

It is relatively simple to generate category schemes for public television. Fitting the licensees into them is quite another thing. In this section, five categories will be presented; but no attempt will be made to rigorously define them or to shove every public television broadcaster into the scheme. The categories have only

been adopted because there seems to be a moderate amount of common ground among certain groups of stations. To that extent the discussion of programming decisions can be simplified.

Large member-supported stations. There are eight large stations that are supported by membership subscriptions, serve major metropolitan areas, and aspire to a significant quantity of national production from their facilities. Even these eight can be divided into two groups of four: New York, Boston, Los Angeles and Washington are major production centers for the system; Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh form a second rank of national production centers. These are eight of the ten largest metropolitan areas in the United States. (Detroit and Cleveland are the other two.) They include 30% of the total population, and the stations attract 37% of all homes that tune to PTV in a given week.

Programming decisions at the large member-supported stations are complicated by several extraneous factors. The organizations are large, and several levels of management and staff have a hand in programming decisions; there is pressure to give prominent exposure to local material, which these stations produce in more quantity than other PTV stations; there is pressure to attract audiences, since this is a prerequisite of membership income; and there are programming constraints imposed by pledge nights, pledge weeks and auctions, all of which take considerable portions of prime air time.

The large member-supported stations are all run by non-profit community corporations. Each has a Board of Directors, usually composed of prominent citizens and/or representatives of local educational and civic organizations. Operational responsibility at these stations tends to descend through a chain of command starting with a president, or chief officer. The distance of trustees from daily programming decisions is exemplified by a unanimous resolution passed by the executive committee of WGBH, Boston:

> . . . as a regular policy, the executive committee and the trustees are not to be asked for advance approval or disapproval of any programmatic idea, but that the president is directed to bring to the executive committee as a sounding board program proposals in areas that he considers to be unusually sensitive.

Note that the above resolution was concerned with "program proposals" rather than purchases, acquisitions, or decisions to carry PBS offerings. Boards, and even station presidents, of the larger stations are interested in local production—for both local and national use—to a far greater extent than they are concerned with other components of local programming decisions; and almost all of the authority in these cases rests with the chief officers of the station. The boards are interested spectators, helpful fund raisers, and ultimately they hold the power to hire or fire the chief officer of the station.

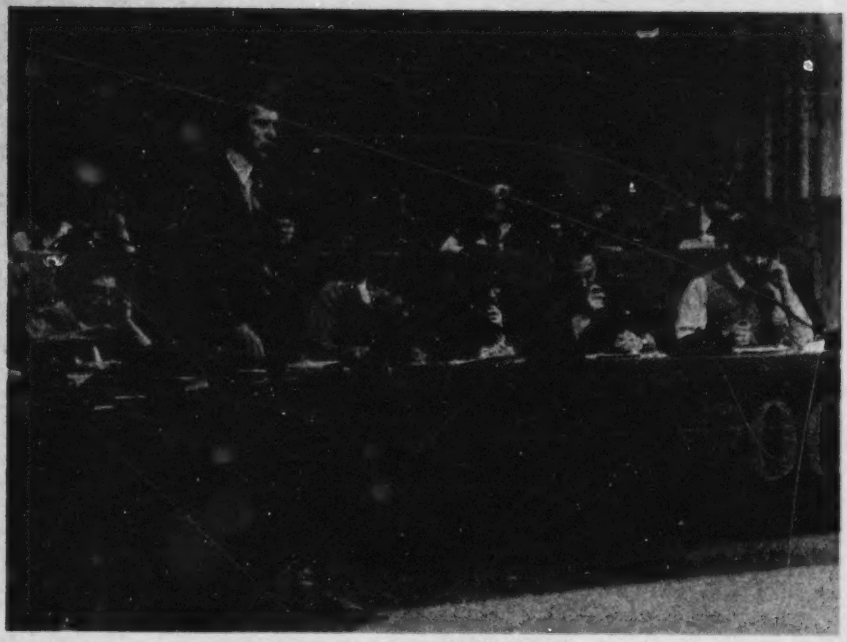
Production and programming operations at the four largest stations are so extensive that there is a second management level—with titles such as vice-president and station manager—through which authority for programming decisions also passes. At a third management level there is another person who has daily programming responsibility. The other four large member-supported stations tend to have a single person performing the functions at both of these levels. For the sake of consistency, the people with daily operational responsi-

bility for programming will be referred to as program managers, although their titles range from "Director of Broadcasting" through "Vice-President for Programming" and their explicit responsibilities vary.

Other parties to programming decisions at these stations are people from membership and development departments. ("Development" is a public broadcasting euphemism meaning fund-raising, just as "public information" has come to refer to publicity departments.) Membership and development play an important part in programming to the extent that pledge nights and pledge weeks (periods when programs are separated by "breaks" during which viewers are asked to telephone their pledges of membership subscriptions) must be scheduled around series and specials with potentially great audience appeal. Development departments have also become increasingly important as these stations begin to seek local corporate underwriting for programs they purchase from the SPC or acquire through other sources. A purchased program is locally underwritten when a local business or foundation agrees to pay the cost of the program (usually plus the costs of transmission) in return for a credit before and after the program. Such underwriting creates scheduling pressures. A bad time slot will not please an underwriter. The potential of underwriting may also be a factor in the decision to purchase a program. (It is never a sufficient reason for program selection; but a program's chances are helped if the decision-maker knows the station will recoup the purchase price plus transmission costs.)

At one of the large member-supported stations it was estimated that fund raising on the air took place more than sixty days a year, and the other stations are not far behind. The need to raise station income via on-air appeals affects programming in a predictable manner. Since only some of public television's regular series attract a large enough audience to generate a continuous stream of income from repeated appeals, there is a search for specials to use in pledge nights or pledge weeks. These pre-empt regular series with minimal audiences. They tend to be "cultural" material with attractive stars or high power documentaries about hot issues; and most of them come from either the acquisitions market or the limited supply of "blockbusters" produced by public television in the past. This year, PBS established a Station Independence Project (SIP) with over a million dollars of Ford support to help local membership drives. The SIP acquired national rights for a number of specials that were combined with the regular PBS feed to create a national pledge week called Festival '75. The large member-supported stations participated in Festival '75; but they augmented schedules with even more specials than PBS had obtained. (Several years ago two of the stations happened to have simultaneous pledge weeks. One attempted to recruit member support with breaks between the regular PBS programs. The other threw away the PBS schedule, for a week made almost entirely of acquisitions. The first station had a very poor pledge week, while the second had the best in its history. Newspapers picked up the story, and the message was not lost on member-supported stations.)

A second programming phenomenon caused by repeated membership appeals is haphazard and unpredictable schedules. Many pre-empted programs are moved to other days and times so that the station cannot be accused of dropping the program. Even when programs are not pre-empted, their starting times become erratic as pledge nights stretch from eight o'clock to midnight.



Pledge Night at WETA

(The 8:00 program begins at 8:10, the 9:00 program begins at 9:22, the 10:00 program begins at 10:37 and ends after its regular viewers have usually gone to sleep.)

One thing that sets the large member-supported stations apart from smaller member-supported stations is the quantity of local programming they produce. The larger stations produce, and aspire to produce, more regular local *series* for their communities. Smaller stations can afford local production on a less regular basis. Production is costly, and local series from large stations are of a type for which it is difficult to find full corporate underwriting (e.g., daily news). The staff and facilities requirements for extensive local production are a critical reason for the increase in appeals for membership support. Higher levels of membership income, conversely, can encourage desires to do more local production. At these eight stations the number of subscribers grew 46% in fiscal year 1973 and 47% in fiscal year 1974.

Although it has represented an increasing proportion of total income in many cases, membership/auction income does not always dominate local budgets. National production brings in valuable overhead payments that support local facilities. However, local contributions often parallel local production costs (including station overhead); and in these large cities, local production activities are often enlarged or curtailed in response to changing patterns of member support. (Membership appeals almost never—as a matter of policy—tell viewers that their money will be used for production of a specific program. And most membership income seems to come in response to "pledge" appeals made after popular national series or acquisitions.)

Since station attention is focused on local productions, it is not surprising to find that local programs have a degree of scheduling priority. Local news and public affairs series are usually placed in the 7:30 "prime time access" slot against weaker local commercial competition. Local cultural, documentary, minority, and access series are given good prime time slots. They tend to replace more marginal PBS series or fill slots in which unpurchased SPC programs are fed. One constraint on this kind of scheduling is that it is more difficult for a station to move a PBS-fed series with long episodes. Thus, "Theater in America" is rarely re-scheduled.

Locally produced series for national distribution also are given extra attention. They are repeated more frequently in prime time, and they seem to inspire extra promotional efforts. Audience ratings tend to indicate that, all things being equal, national programs are seen by a higher percentage of viewers in the city where they were made. This has been true of "Nova" in Boston, "Theater in America" in New York, "Soundstage" in Chicago, "World Press" in San Francisco, and others. (Please note that "all things" are frequently not equal.)

The largest community-supported stations seem to be fully willing to resist pressures to limit content on grounds of obscenity, blasphemy, or nudity. In fact, several of them have produced some of the programs that caused problems at other stations. Relative to other PTV stations there is also a tendency at the big stations to stand firmly against political pressures regarding content. Of course, these stations have the resources to keep out of some trouble by producing local follow-ups presenting the other side of a controversial matter. There are limits to this resistance, however; and the variety of responses to potential and actual political pressures is probably as much a function of personality and individual attitudes as anything else. These stations, like the national system, face considerable pressure from minority groups with demands for more programming directed to them. (License challenges have been made against several large stations. Programming has been one area, but not the only area, for these challenges.)

It is possible to speculate, although the evidence is quite limited, that the large member-supported stations are more susceptible to overt programming pressures from certain sources than from others. (Perhaps this is simply a reflection of the relative strength of the pressure groups.) Complaints from right-wing organizations seem to raise all sorts of "freedom of speech" responses—although there is almost always an attempt to bring in programming that balances political points of view. Charges of "racism" in program content have more effect. (Viz. WNET's withdrawal of the Swedish, "Harlem: Voices and Faces" after organized protests from black leaders.) Other pressures are almost subliminal. Overt programming demands from members or corporate underwriters or local political leaders are resisted as a matter of course. (Reasonable presentations are listened to; and there is often much discussion.) On the other hand, the stations are aware of the lines that they dare not cross: inordinate and irrelevant obscenity or blasphemy, full frontal nudity, overtly racist attitudes, and extreme political opinions without benefit of counterargument.

Because of the various levels of management above and below program managers at these stations, decisions tend to be oligarchic—at least those

on sensitive programming matters. Programming staffs prepare schedules based on PBS-feed, local production, and desired acquisitions. The schedules must fit plans for membership drives; they must take into account the desires of producers to get the best slots for their programs; they must go to development departments for potential local underwriting; and they must be seen at higher levels in the corporate ladder. The larger stations have also begun to look at ratings more and more often in the last few years; and there is sometimes a research expert to give an evaluation of the audience potential of various scheduling options. The oligarchic decision-making model has both good and bad points. It takes more time, and collective wisdom tends to restrict adventurous ideas; it also provides greater input and more sources of creative thought to the programming process.

Larger operating budgets mean that these stations have more freedom from the PBS feed. They have the facilities to tape incoming programs for delayed use or repeat showings. They have more available local production. They have larger acquisition budgets. (All eight are members of EEN.) With this flexibility comes more work in determining schedules. Potential acquisitions are often screened by several people at a station before a decision is made. (The same is true of potential SPC purchases that will come from PBS.) Questions about dropping doubtful PBS offerings are often discussed among relevant station staff. (A director of local public affairs may take part in the decision of whether to vote for "Washington Straight Talk" or coverage of a particular event.) Although specific functions and lines of authority exist in theory, the practice is one of blurred lines, group decisions and consensus. A program manager tends to have the ultimate voice in decisions; but it is rare for programming decisions to be made in face of severe opposition from above or below. (It is, in fact, rare for such disagreement to occur. Station management tends to be like-minded in regard to programming.)

One final note. Future programming in these eight communities may be complicated by the fact that all of them contain at least one other PTV station to serve the same community. In five cases the license is held by the major station itself, in three it is held by others. When and if there is an overabundance of PTV programs, these communities will have to deal with the issue of two-channel programming. At present, three of the "secondary" stations are off the air for financial reasons.

Smaller member-supported stations. Between forty-five and fifty public television stations can be classified in a group that is "member-supported" and smaller than the eight major stations. The reason the number is vague, and the reason that the term "member-supported" has been used, is that the total includes several stations that are licensed to universities or school boards. The traditional, legal definition of PTV license categories has used the term "community" to designate licenses held by non-profit community corporations. This designation would exclude stations in Denver, Seattle, Phoenix, San Diego and elsewhere which in many instances depend on membership support for the majority of their income, although their licenses do not fall into the "community" category. Of the fifty-two largest metropolitan areas, other than those containing the eight "major" stations, thirty-six contain member-supported PTV stations. These cover roughly 32% of the total U.S. television households.[44]

(Three of the metropolitan areas are served by state networks that solicit membership. The other thirteen cities are served by state networks, school stations or college stations that do not actively solicit member support.)

The economic situation at member-supported stations covers an extremely wide range. On one end there are stations in medium-sized cities where aggressive station activity has generated thousands of memberships. On the other end there are stations serving very small populations where even if half of all viewing homes gave $20 a year, more support would be needed to maintain station operations. (The current range of membership is from one-in-six viewing homes to one in a hundred receiving homes.)

A few very small member-supported stations currently face severe economic crises. At the larger stations the amount of local support helps determine the amount of local service that can be provided; at the smaller stations, a lack of local support threatens the very existence of the station. Economic hardship has dictated that a "member-supported" station with an insufficient population base may be forced to join a larger entity. In such instances, the station may become part of a state network operation, or it may operate as a satellite of a PTV station in a larger neighboring community. This concept is beginning to be explored as one of the ways in which public television can best serve small communities. Either a state network or a large station provides almost all programming and facilities, and the small local station has sufficient facilities—or access to central facilities—to provide occasional local material.

The more typical member-supported station is not in such a difficult position. In fact, the typical situation seems to be one of consistent growth over the last two or three years. Member-supported stations in mid-sized communities—i.e. those containing from 300,000 to 1,000,000 homes—have grown for several reasons. One is the availability of federal grants for local PTV facilities. Another is the combination of higher Community Service Grants from CPB and rapidly increasing income from local auctions and fund raising. Additional income has also been achieved in states where the legislature has provided support for the PTV system. (The types of state support for non-state network public television licensees varies widely. Florida, Pennsylvania and other states have been extremely supportive. In additional states, pending legislation also authorizes funds for member-supported stations.)

Differences in sources of income between the largest member-supported stations and other member-supported stations are reflected in differences in the environments within which programming decisions must be made. Overhead from national production contracts, greater gross income from auctions, and higher population bases from which to recruit members all provide more discretionary money for the larger stations. (The eight big stations take in more than a third of all auction money and roughly two-thirds of all membership income in the system.) Middle-sized membership supported stations receive a higher *proportion* of their incomes from local school boards, local foundations, federal grants for facilities, CPB Community Service Grants, and state sources. Another important financial potential has not yet been fully exploited by the stations in mid-sized communities: auction income can provide a higher proportion of their budgets than it can in larger markets. Although larger cities obtain

more money from PTV auctions (the first WNET auction in 1975 brought in far more than any televised auction ever held), only a limited number of items can be sold per hour. In contrast, larger cities offer potential membership in proportion to the number of homes viewing the station. Thus, the ratio of auction to membership income at large stations is on the order of 1:3 or 1:4. At smaller member-supported stations the ratio is more often between 1:1.0 and 1:1.5.

At the mid-sized stations there has not been a tradition of local production amounting to more than about an hour per week. Production costs tend to be lower at these stations—lack of union contracts and willingness to use less sophisticated equipment are prime reasons. But discretionary income has been low in the past; and most of these stations have not committed themselves to regular series of programs until recent improvements in their income levels. The cost of tape-and-delay activity is relatively similar for most stations; putting pressure on lower income stations to carry programs from PBS at the time they are fed. Compared to very small stations, though, the mid-sized stations are more likely to reschedule programs. Generally, they look for spots where PBS is distributing an SPC program they have not purchased or make use of the prime time "regional split" hours—during which PBS does not feed the interconnection—for local production and acquisitions. In a few cases they reschedule the PBS programs when a program manager decides there is an imperative reason.

When compared to the larger member-supported stations, these stations do not devote nearly as much air time to membership appeals. Consequently, pressures to obtain specials and reschedule series are not as great as they are at the larger stations. The mid-sized stations are also not as concerned with audiences and ratings as the larger stations, although this situation has been shifting rapidly as CPB and PBS have begun to provide audience data and research support. Through the early '70's a handful of letters or a small number of phone calls was taken to indicate a groundswell of support or opposition for a program. Now many stations have conducted surveys or purchased rating services.

Management structure at mid-sized stations is naturally simpler than at the largest stations. Again there are community non-profit corporations with boards of trustees. (This is not true of the stations licensed to universities, etc.) Again, there is a general manager who has operational responsibility. Routine programming decisions tend to be the responsibility of a program manager (titles vary), who usually also coordinates local production activities. At the mid-sized stations these two managers tend to work closely together on the overall management problems of the station. Their offices are much closer together than the offices of top management and programming staff at large stations. Perhaps it is because the smaller staffs work more closely and know each other better; but one gets the feeling that programming decisions at mid-sized stations are more firmly in the hands of the program manager, who may be subject to the views of the station manager in occasional sensitive cases. (Such a situation depends on the managerial style and personality characteristics of the station manager.)

These smaller stations do not appear to have the complex decision-making pattern of the large member-supported stations. Production, development, and publicity staffs are consulted about areas of their concern. Chains of

command and areas of activity seem to be more clearly defined. In some cases comments and ideas will be sought by program managers. There are simply fewer local projects and more pressure to conform to the PBS feed. Thus, there are fewer programming options and fewer critical programming decisions.

Since local production is less intensive at these stations, it can take on added importance when it exists. In recent years, national programs on several health-related issues—drugs, venereal disease, etc.—have encouraged local "follow-up" efforts. Many stations have responded with special local programming—call-ins, panel discussions, documentaries about the local situation. Production activities for these and other local efforts consume a higher and more visible proportion of station activity than they would at a station with regularly scheduled local series and/or national production. The sense of excitement about local activity is more readily apparent to a visitor.

In general, member-supported stations, large and small, are a bit more concerned than other stations with the attractiveness of their programming. The eight largest stations represent similar metropolitan areas. The mid-sized stations are located in cities with a wider diversity of interests, attitudes, and preferences. What may be attractive in Jacksonville or Sacramento may not have a similar appeal in Seattle or Rochester. Sensitivity to questions of language and taste varies from community to community; and programming decisions at these stations result from combinations of *perceived* community attitudes and individual personalities of managers, who may or may not feel that they should run counter to suspected community standards. Recently there have not been many occasions when local stations removed PBS programs or "bleeped" content because of sensitivity to language or taste. Although a few managers have decided to delete material in some regions of the country, the general tendency in the past two years has been to carry PBS programs as fed. Decision-makers at mid-sized member supported-stations attribute this to growing sophistication among television viewers and increased thoroughness by PBS.

Along with increased attention to program attractiveness have come new and different sensitivity to content and additional programming pressures. The best programming bargains available to the stations in terms of cost per amount of programming appeal tend to be imported British series. PBS has provided "Civilization," "Masterpiece Theater," "The Ascent of Man," and other imports that have proven to be among the most popular programs ever shown on public television. Other programs are now becoming available through the EEN and on the open acquisition market. In one direction is the pressure to obtain the most attractive possible programming within limits set by budgets. In the other direction is a new pressure against two kinds of imbalance in schedules: too much foreign material, and too much "almost commercial" entertainment and drama. Stations are drawn to available British material, and at the same time made uneasy about the amount of it they use in prime time. They are drawn to the large audiences that will view "Monty Python" and simultaneously a bit worried about possible charges of "commercialism" and "failing to perform an educational function." There are a few program managers at the extreme ends, some refusing to consider anything without a clear educational or "cultural" attribute and some who define education and culture so broadly that it can include any programming.

Certain British imports are easier to justify than others. "Search for the Nile" fits almost every programming philosophy; a newly available series "The Rivals of Sherlock Holmes" is period drama of a type not usually offered by commercial television, but to some people there is enough such material on "Masterpiece Theater" which is shown twice a week; "No Honestly" is a comedy series falling somewhere between the old "Burns and Allen" commercial program and a situation comedy—although more sophisticated than U.S. sitcoms—and it has been purchased by some stations and rejected as overly "commercial" by others. Regardless of programming philosophy, there always remains the issue of how much imported material should be shown in prime time. Certain acquired series are sometimes held for airing at a different time of year if it is thought that there are "too many" (a concept that varies among decision-makers) foreign programs in the schedule.

Half of the member-supported stations serving mid-sized communities are transmitting on UHF channels (channel 14 or higher). Table 2 displays the distribution of mid-sized UHF and VHF member-supported stations among categories of total weekly audience. It can be seen that most such UHF stations attract a lower proportion of viewers than VHF stations. There are significant exceptions. Mid-sized UHF stations serving Rochester, Albany, Syracuse and Buffalo in New York State and Scranton, Pennsylvania attracted relatively high proportions of viewers to their UHF channels.

Table 2

Distribution of Member-Supported PTV Stations Serving 300,000 to 1,000,000 Households by UHF/VHF and Percentage Total Weekly Viewership (February 1975)

Percent metro homes viewing at least one PTV program during a week (sign-on to sign-off)	Number of UHF stations at this audience level	Number of VHF stations at this audience level
20% or less	6	0
21–25%	4	0
26–30%	2	9
31–35%	2	3
36–40%	1	5
41% or more	2	0
TOTAL	17	17

The disadvantages of UHF work against many of these stations, limiting their audience, and limiting their membership income. Lower income from membership means lower levels of discretionary funds to use for local production and hence a greater dependence on PBS-fed programs that have been underwritten by national sources. For member-supported stations there is a closed circle of programming to membership income to programming. High quality local production and investment in attractive acquisitions bring viewers to the station; viewers are recruited to become members; membership income provides the funds with which to produce high quality local material and purchase attractive acquisitions.

State Networks. Statewide governmental agencies or authorities hold public television licenses in twenty-four states. Such agencies also operate public television stations in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa. In several of the states, state ownership does not mean the stations are operated as the kind of "network" that will be described here. In others, the state agency runs a single station, and cannot be considered a network. There are about eighteen centralized multi-station state networks. The total depends on the criteria chosen for inclusion. Six such networks are located in southern states, four in New England. A few are licensed to statewide university systems. Nine solicit membership support. (Only one of these is in a southern state.) Despite the wide diversity of situations, regions, budgets, and legal authority for these state networks, there seem to be common atributes and some similarity in programming environments. (Note that several states have established "state networks" to serve a group of stations licensed to non-state entities. These are not included in this discussion.)

The common characteristics of the state networks being considered are: a central facility that serves two or more stations, a high proportion of total income derived from action of the state legislature, simultaneous interconnected transmission of programs at all stations, and responsibility for daytime instructional television service to schools in the state. There are exceptions to these common themes, and broad generalization cannot exactly describe any single operation; but there is probably enough common ground for an exploration of programming at a centralized state network.

The nature of centralized state networks of public television stations tends to be tied to the fact that they have been created and primarily funded by state legislation. Thus, they need not appeal to viewers for contributions to maintain station services, and they are free of influences from corporate supporters. Although some of the networks have membership income, this tends to be a relatively small proportion of most budgets. Since the main source of network funds is the legislative process, the accent tends to be on *service* to the state and its citizens.

Data from fiscal year 1973 indicate that more than three-quarters of all income for stations licensed to state agencies came from state sources—56.2% from special state television agencies or other government sources, and 21.4% from state boards of education. Among all PTV licensees the proportion of income from these sources was below 30%, and state licensees received more than two-thirds of all money provided by such sources to public television. (See *Statistical Report on Public Television Licensees Fiscal Year 1973*, p. 49.)

State networks provide identical television programming to more than one area. Thus, their concept of their "community" differs from that of stations serving a single town or metropolitan area. This, combined with the fact of financing from state sources, tends to mean that the concept of "local" programming refers to statewide services. Two things should be noted about this statewide programming concept. First, some of the state networks are moving toward semi-autonomous stations that would break away from the network interconnection for a few hours a week. This can be done by establishing small mini-facilities in several communities or by use of mobile equipment. Second, many of the states under consideration are either not dominated by major

population centers or find that major population centers are served by PTV stations outside the state network. Pressures for local programming to specific metropolitan areas are reduced in states where wide population distribution creates a perception that the state, rather than the municipal unit, is of primary geographical and political interest. Pressures are also reduced to the extent that other PTV stations serve the major metropolitan centers of the state. (e.g., Atlanta, Ga.)

One of the recent programming trends among these state networks (and looser "networks" of stations within other states) has been coverage of state legislative and political activity. States from Connecticut to Nebraska have begun to provide regularly scheduled coverage of the activities of legislative sessions. In some cases such coverage presents actual sessions of the legislature. "Local" production such as this must find a place in the schedule. At state networks it tends to have priority over some of the more "entertainment" oriented materials available through the acquisitions market. The 1974 Program Content Survey indicated that state networks transmitted an annual amount of public affairs programming that was at about the average for all PTV stations. It may be presumed that statewide coverage represented almost all of the "local" component of public affairs content.

The organization of state networks is unlike that of stations operated by non-profit community corporations. Legal responsibility tends to reside with a state authority or agency established for the purpose of management of public television operations—often called "educational" television at these networks. A few of the state operations are the legal responsibility of the trustees or regents of state university systems. In either case, board members are usually selected by a governmental process—appointment by the governor with approval by the legislature, for example. The legislation establishing and providing funds for state networks often describes the reasons for which they have been created. These tend to emphasize the educational and cultural betterment that citizens of the state can obtain through the use of government funds to support an educational (or public) television system. Such clear emphasis provides guidelines for decision-makers at state networks; and the programming policies at the state networks tend to reflect a desire for citizen betterment and/or presentation of material that has special relevance to the state. (One programming department at a state network has serious reservations about transmitting the tennis matches that have been fed by PBS. Does a tennis match have a relationship to the reasons for which the network was created and funded? The programmers would rather have either a course of tennis instruction *or a tennis match originating within the state*.)

The involvement of state boards in the activities of state networks is parallel to that of the boards responsible for community corporation stations. Board members provide general guidance for the station, without involvement in day-to-day programming activities; and they function to support the organization—in this case by appearances before legislative bodies and the governor to make the case for desired funding levels. Active managerial responsibility belongs to the chief executive—President, General Manager, etc.—of the network. This person usually becomes fairly well known in the state—most state networks operate in states with moderate or small populations—due to activities

on behalf of the network. Appearances, magazine articles, legislative testimony, talks with the governor, etc., all provide a context in which top network managers seek support for the network. In most cases, these managers enjoy very good working relationships with state officials.

State networks usually have a clearly defined responsibility to provide televised classroom instruction. This is reflected by the common characteristic level of network organization: a clear departmental division between ITV services and the responsibility for the other areas of programming. A typical practice is the division of air time into "ITV" and "PTV" (or "general") blocs, in separate departments of the network. ITV programming practices will be considered in the next chapter. Programming in the "general" time bloc at state networks responds to an environment that differs considerably from the environments at other types of public television operations.

The financial situation at State networks tends to be relatively stable and strong. State funding establishes a firm and predictable source of money compared to the situation faced by stations that depend on national production, member contributions, or the budgets of school boards and colleges. State networks serve several communities from a central facility, and this facility tends to provide high-quality work space and production facilities. (Justification may be primarily ITV production; but resources can be used for any activity.) None of the state networks visited or discussed for this report were fully unionized; this allows lower production costs and greater flexibility in using available personnel for a variety of functions.

Networks are not located in a single metropolitan area, often they exist in states where the population is spread over a wide area, they do not depend on viewer contributions as a crucial component of income, they often include many UHF channels: for these and other reasons decision-makers have not been overly concerned with ratings or audience size. (In many cases estimates are impossible to obtain. In some states special studies have been commissioned in recent years—usually to demonstrate the number of citizens affected by the network.) Important feedback to programmers includes critical or editorial comment, discussion by important state figures, mail and phone calls, and responses to programs that have an interactive format (live call-ins, write for booklet).

Several states have annual on-air auctions like those of member-supported stations. The logistics of a pick-up and distribution system in a state as large as Nebraska are complex and interesting. A successful statewide auction is a tribute to the organizational abilities of people at the network. Other networks refuse to engage in fund raising as a matter of policy. They feel that since they are supported by tax dollars they should not ask individual citizens to contribute more money for network support.

Pressures for pledge night programming are almost entirely absent; good facilities and sound financial situations allow extensive tape-for-replay activity if desired (freeing the network from the scheduled PBS feed); a legislative mandate indicates primary attention to service for the state; and the primary source of network funds implies that programming should not enrage governmental and political leaders or a large number of citizens. Programming decisions tend to reflect such an environment—modified by the personality and attitudes of the individuals involved in the decisions. (The environment de-

scribed is a generalization, of course. It does not exist exactly as described in any single situation.)

In addition to statewide public affairs programming, state networks can provide state services by production of programs that encourage the development of the arts in the state. Thus, there is a strong justification to produce a play using talent available within the state. Decision-makers find less justification for the acquisition of large numbers of foreign plays on the open market. Emphasis is also given to producing programs that will in some way aid the viewer: how-to programs about anything from gardening to playing baseball, continuing education courses, consumer education series, programs about health or safety, programs presenting factual analyses of a given situation, programs aimed at target groups. This priority is seen in local production by state networks—examples include South Carolina's "Job Man Caravan," a combination of attractive entertainment and useful employment information for people in need of jobs, and Maryland's "Consumer Survival Kit," originally produced for the state and now national through SPC purchase. Although it is always a plus to have an emphasis on the particular state, programs that aid the viewer are also a priority when state networks make requests of PBS, purchase in the SPC, and shop in the acquisition market. There is reason to believe that state networks are a bit more sensitive to potentially controversial material than member-supported stations. Discussions with programming people in the course of collecting information for this report revealed *relative* sensitivity to political content, language problems and explicit sexuality. However, the sensitivity was not extreme, and most comments indicated that there once was more of a problem with such material. The PBS system of flags was praised. There are two basic reasons for this comparative level of sensitivity to content. First, many of the state networks are in relatively rural states; and program managers are reflecting the feelings of their statewide communities. Second, there is a feeling that it is inappropriate to spend *government* funds on material that may be controversial or offensive. Member-supported stations may encourage contributions from people who desire controversial or *avant garde* programming as an alternative to commercial offerings. State networks are responsive to a different constituency.

College and University Stations in Smaller Communities. Over fifty public television stations are licensed to institutions of higher education. Some of these are actually operated as state networks or are parts of state network systems. Four are located in metropolitan areas containing more than half a million households; all four (Houston, Seattle, San Diego, Phoenix) currently have from 9,000 to 30,000 subscribers and are more reasonably considered along with mid-sized, member-supported stations. This leaves approximately forty stations. Only eight of these serve areas containing more than 250,000 homes—four are UHF stations overlapped by strong member-supported VHF stations in the same area, and the other four have solicited 1,000 or more memberships each. Thus, there are thirty-six *small* stations licensed to colleges: thirty-two in small communities and four that are overlapped by larger PTV stations. (Five of these smaller stations have also solicited 1,000 or more memberships.) They have a variety of characteristics and programming considerations in common.

Funds for the operation of a college station usually come from a line item in the overall college or university budget. Almost all of the college stations operate at state or community colleges or universities, so their incomes come from an overall budget for higher education that is supported by a governmental tax base. (In a few cases regulations make it impossible or even illegal to solicit outside funds.) Stations tend to be located on or near campus: some have high-quality broadcasting centers, others are given part of an academic building or marginal facilities. Station management often must obtain faculty status, or quasi-faculty status, when appointed. In some cases station personnel also double as instructors, teaching students enrolled in courses in broadcasting. A few of the stations actively involve students in broadcast operations as part of their educational/training function; other stations hire students to work part-time; other stations operate independent of their parent institutions, with full-time staffs that have no college or university affiliation. In some small communities it is difficult to find adequate talent for sophisticated local productions.

Legal responsibility for the licenses of college stations rests with the trustees of the college or university. These trustees are further removed from station operations than either the board members of community corporations—who represent an organization solely devoted to public broadcasting, or members of state broadcasting agencies—who are appointed with specific responsibilities to oversee state networks. College and university trustees are responsible for the overall operations of their institutions, of which a PTV station is usually a very small component. These trustees appoint the executive officers of the institution. Station executives at college stations are appointed either by the college administration or by a department of broadcasting; they are thus more in contact with college and university presidents than with trustees. Usually programming decisions are a strictly internal station matter.

In the small towns that most college stations serve there are usually only network affiliated commercial stations; sometimes the college station is the *only* television station licensed to a community that receives TV signals from nearby cities. Conditions like these make many programmers at college stations express a desire to use their limited resources to provide local television services that no other station can give the community (e.g., coverage of local elections, community issues and even sports).

Smaller stations have smaller staffs and less equipment. (Budgets for "university" licensees were 40% below the system average in fiscal year 1973.) Thus, they produce fewer hours of material—often in black and white, they are somewhat less able to tape the PBS feed for rescheduling, and they have lower budgets for buying programs on the acquisition market. The 1974 Program Content Survey reveals that "university" licensees transmitted less local material than any other licensee category—20% below the annual average for all stations and under 10% of all hours transmitted by university licensed stations. These licensees also obtain more than two-thirds of their air time from PBS, the highest proportion for any licensee category; and they had the highest proportion of reruns. (Note that the data for "university" licensees include the larger stations and undoubtedly would reveal lower budget sizes, fewer local productions, and more dependence on the PBS feed if they were removed.)

The programming environment of the college stations in smaller

communities limits the options available to program managers. Nine functions of such stations were listed by Lee Sherman Dreyfus in 1967:

1) Formal education
2) Informal education
3) Educational and Media research
4) Community relations
5) Community service
6) Public forum
7) Training laboratory
8) Recreational service
9) Alternative service (minority programming)

The order of this list may be a fair indication of priorities at college stations. However, programming opportunities often do not conform to priorities. College level instruction by television never met initial expectations. There have been recent successes, such as "Ascent of Man" for credit, and major new projects are currently being developed. When they can, college stations produce local coverage of significant campus or community events—providing the informal education, services to the community, and public forum on these occasions. On the other hand, college stations have been relatively inactive in the realm of grade school education. Some provide no ITV service other than the PBS-fed children's programs. (Of course there may be no reason to provide in-school programs to small communities where there are no TV sets in the local schools.)

The general programming picture is that these stations take a great deal of programming as fed by PBS, produce a small amount of local material—often of interest to the university community or as a public service, and emphasize informative and cultural content in their acquisitions. (Programming is not completely limited by low budgets. There are often institutional resources available to college stations. Thus, at least two of them have recently produced operas in their black and white studios with the cooperation of university music departments.)

Most of the stations reflect the tastes and standards of the institutions at which they are located. Controversial ideas and political positions are often welcomed. In the past there have been uproars when faculty or students have found that a station failed to broadcast a controversial program. Similarly, problems with language or nudity are infrequent. The situation is far from "anything goes;" rather there tends to be agreement with PBS standards. Two factors limit this general willingness to broadcast potentially sensitive content: there are some relatively conservative college communities where responsiveness demands sensitivity to content, and some decision-makers prefer to reflect the values and tastes of their entire viewing area—which can increase sensitivity. Again, the personal views and attitudes of station management must preclude sweeping generalizations.

School Board Stations. The last category of PTV stations to be considered is perhaps the most diverse. Twenty licenses to operate stations are held by local or county school boards or boards of education. Eight of these "school" stations are located in metropolitan areas served by other, larger PTV stations; a ninth shares channel 2 in Miami with a member-supported licensee—WTHS trans-

mits during school hours and WPBT transmits at other hours. Four additional school stations are located in larger metropolitan areas (Denver, Nashville, Louisville, and Norfolk); they each have more than 3,500 members, and their non-ITV programming appears to be more like that of mid-sized member-supported stations. This leaves seven non-overlapped school stations operating without significant membership support. In some respects it is valuable to consider the differences between the overlapped and non-overlapped school stations. In other respects there are only minor differences. At any rate, the school stations are not growing in number. One program manager feels they are "a vanishing breed"—generally becoming fewer as school stations convert to other bases of financial support where possible.

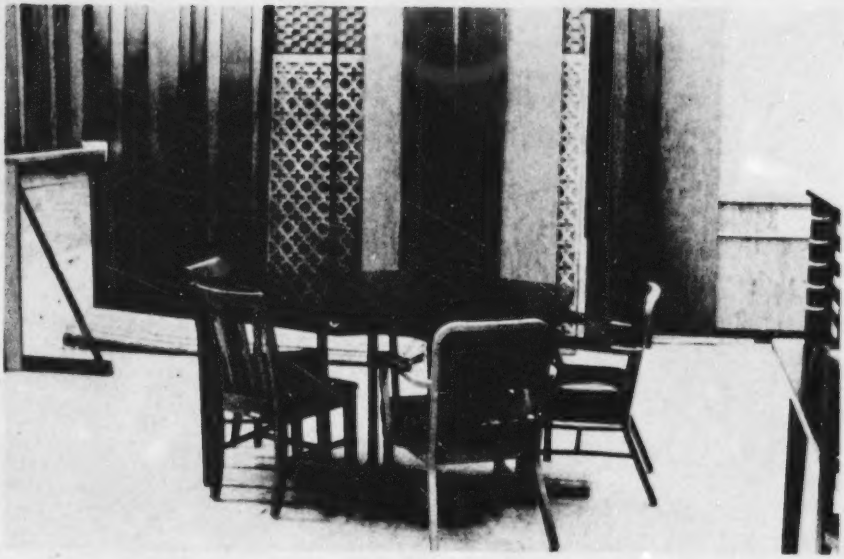
Since school stations are owned and operated by local educational entities, their main responsibility for service tends to be limited. Local boards of education provided nearly three quarters of all funds for these stations in fiscal year 1973, and they were paying primarily for services to schools, students, teachers, and parents within their districts. Indeed, given the nature of most financial situations in public school systems, it is very difficult for school stations to justify spending for services that are not used within the boundaries of the school system supporting the station. A significant recent trend has been increased income from CPB grants, small numbers of membership contributions, and even occasional local underwriting. Such income can support station activities that cannot be justified expenditures of school money.

The 1974 Program Content Survey reveals that school stations transmitted fewer hours of programming than any other license type, 16% less than the average for all PTV broadcasters. On the other hand, school stations were equal to the overall average in transmission of ITV and the children's programs from CTW. The major difference was that the school stations transmitted 19% fewer hours of news and general programming than the overall average. Thus, the *proportion* of ITV hours is highest at school stations.

Examination of locally produced programming reveals that school stations transmitted the highest number of local ITV hours of all licensee types and the lowest number of hours of local general material of all licensee types. Like the college stations, where budgets are also low, school stations took almost two-thirds of their air time from PBS.

The primary function of school stations is to provide television service to the schools operated by the holder of the station license. The fact that a local school board holds a PTV license indicates that the board has been willing to commit itself to the use of television in classrooms. Local schools are more likely to have television sets available in classrooms, and school stations are more likely than others (except for a few state networks) to provide technical assistance to schools and ITV utilization specialists. At least one of the school stations also serves as a vocational training center—the station is operated in part by students enrolled in courses where they learn broadcasting and engineering skills.

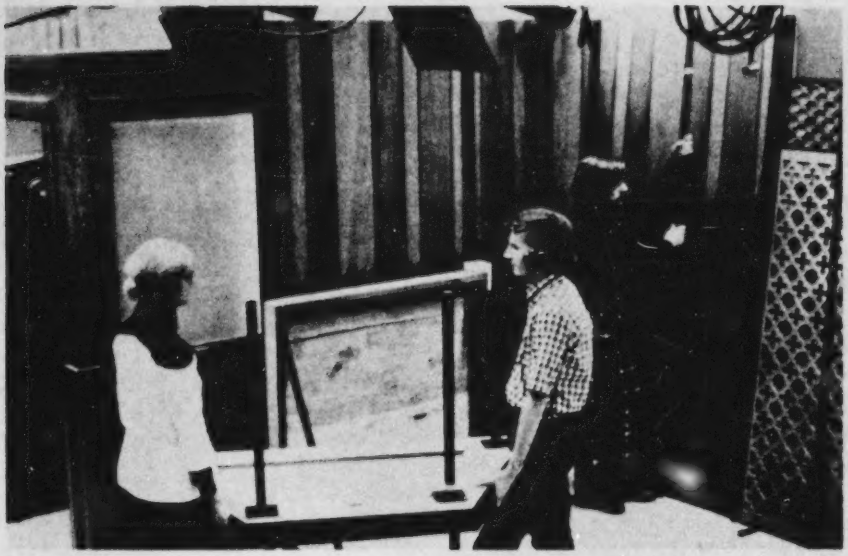
School boards deal with critical political, financial and educational issues that have nothing to do with the operation of their PTV station. So the people legally responsible for the license are far removed from daily programming operations. Management of the entire school system tends to be in the hands



A conference room with a twelve foot ceiling and a hallway are transformed into a studio for candidates night by KTEH, a school board station in San Jose.

of a superintendent, who also has many things other than PTV to think about. Station programming decisions reside with the station managers and program managers of school stations. In most cases these people are directly employed by the school system, finding themselves to be a small part of a relatively large bureaucracy.

Since the mandate for programming done with school funds is limited in most cases, school stations often have developed ingenious methods of providing additional material. The advent of the PBS interconnection was an immediate source of additional program hours that had been unavailable, or would have required engineering and videotape costs that had not been covered by the station budget. Community service grants have begun to pay for extra crews required to keep stations on the air at night, on weekends, and in the summer. (At one school station there has been an interesting paradox. In order to qualify for the CPB grant the station must be on the air for a minimum number of hours. In order to stay on for those hours the station had to use all of its grant to pay increased operating costs; nothing was left for programming, and the station did not purchase "Sesame Street" in SPC-1.) These stations are willing to innovate, using less expensive equipment, especially one inch videotape recorders, than other stations who hesitate because of technical standards. They also make use of multi-talented staff who put in extra time for local production that cannot be covered by budget items—a program manager and his wife have directed and operated the camera for local candidates' nights produced on weekends in a hallway that was transformed into a "studio" for the purpose.



The stations that are overlapped by larger PTV stations face a peculiar set of programming pressures. On the one hand their financial situation limits local production, acquisitions, and engineering and hardware costs. On the other hand, there is limited utility in simultaneously transmitting PBS programs that are already broadcast by a stronger transmitter. One solution has been to

reschedule PBS programs through use of small crews and (often) inexpensive hardware—these stations tend to be non-union, so they avoid certain work rules that make such activity very expensive in unionized stations. If the larger station reschedules the PBS feed, the overlapped station can take programs directly from the interconnection. (The point is that overlapped stations must respond to the schedules broadcast by the larger stations.) In a few cases such as San Jose, California and Tacoma, Washington, overlapped school stations serve specific communities in larger metropolitan areas (San Francisco and Seattle). These stations can program to their smaller target areas with coverage that is of more narrow local interest. Such programming also falls within the geographic mandate of the school board that holds the license.

Like the college stations, school stations display a programming emphasis on "instructional" merit. They tend to be less conscious of ratings and overall audience size, although they do respond to indications—letters, phone calls, newspaper articles, discussions—that particular programs are having an impact. More important are programming pressures to provide useful services—continuing education, high school equivalency courses, health care, consumer affairs, science documentaries, and target group programming. ("We don't want to go the route of MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS, but we certainly should have something that would be more appealing to the younger viewers."—letter from general manager of school station in response to PBS request to identify local needs.)

Like college stations, school stations are responsive to the institutions they serve; however school boards tend to be far more sensitive to political and language content than university communities. This sensitivity, though, tends to be filtered as it passes through levels of management from school board to superintendent to station management. Once again, the personalities and attitudes of station managers and program managers have a profound effect on the way in which school stations respond to PBS flags and other controversial material. Some would like to have evening schedules composed entirely of programs with a clear instructional purpose or straightforward informational content (e.g., news coverage without analysis or interpretation); others are happy with the current PBS program mix; only a few currently have the resources to even contemplate a large number of acquisitions purchased on the open market.

A variety of special cases. The preceding pages have broadly described the programming environments at different station "types" which exist as composites in the writer's mind rather than at any single location. The large member-supported stations are concerned with audiences and membership income, national production, and community response to programming. Member-supported stations in mid-sized communities are also beginning to respond to pressures for programming that will produce income, and they place pride and emphasis on their local productions. State networks serve a statewide constituency that is quite different from anything else in American broadcasting, public or commercial. They must serve a statewide community; and their programming criteria are often unlike those at other public television operations. College and school stations in small communities have yet another kind of priority scheme; they are owned and financed by institutions with explicit

educational goals and responsibilities.

Within these categories there are innumerable special cases. Stations in two of the largest cities in the country are not currently involved in national production plans. Channel 2 in Miami is shared by two licensees. The Oklahoma City school district provides an ITV schedule through the state network. College stations and school stations in mid-sized cities are developing strong membership support for evening programming. Some "state networks" have only one station, others have many stations that each operate independently, other entities are called "state networks" and operate more as statewide cooperatives to facilitate interaction and distribute state funding to independently licensed stations. Many cities contain more than one PTV station—in a few two stations belong to the same licensee, in others the stations are separate and in some cases even resentful of each other.

Public television programming decisions are made in a wide variety of local environments. Hanging over all of them is the influence of the national decision-making system that produces the PBS feed. There is also the chronic problem of insufficient funds, and the ways in which funding sources influence programming priorities. And far from least important is the broad range of individual differences among the hundreds of men and women who take part in PTV programming across the country.

SCHOOL PROGRAMMING

In the mid-1950's ITV time for New York was purchased from the commercial station that carried the Yankees. One autumn the station had to cut away from the middle of a crucial game in order to broadcast the final class of a science training series in which 8,000 teachers were enrolled. An irate baseball fan called to complain: "That's the longest commercial I've ever seen!"

—from conversation with Florence Monroe, WNYE

Patterns of local activity are changing, definitions are disputed, and public television stations continue to transmit programs that have a variety of "instructional" goals. The core of instructional programming, or ITV, is material broadcast for use by teachers and students in school rooms K-12. The daytime schedule at most PTV stations contains a variety of programs rarely encountered by people outside the ITV community. These programs are seen by tens of thousands, if not millions, of school children across the country. (Totals vary widely by program, and estimates are not fully reliable.) In addition, ITV programming includes teacher training materials broadcast during or after school hours, college level courses broadcast for students enrolled for credit, and continuing education and high school equivalency courses broadcast for adults who wish to use television for education in their homes. With the exception of "Sesame Street," "The Electric Company," and the recent use of prime time PBS programs in association with courses for credit ("Ascent of Man," "Japanese Film," "Classic Theater"), almost all ITV decisions are made at a local, state or regional level. GPNITL, AIT/NIT and other distributors provide programs that are used all over the country; however, there is no national interconnected ITV feed other than PBS feed of instructional programs ("The Electric Co.," "Villa Alegre," "Ourstory," "Vibrations Encore" and others) fed during daytime hours that are used for educational purposes. Many programs are used in all parts of the country; although some are not necessarily broadcast by a high proportion of PTV stations.

An unpublished survey sponsored by CPB has described the nature of

ITV services among PTV stations. Responses came from 131 of 141 licensees that could have provided instructional programming in the United States. (Some licensees join with others for ITV service, and stations outside the U.S. were excluded; so the total was lower than the total number of licensees.) Nine respondents provided no programming meant for classroom use, two others provided only PBS programs, and three others provided only material at the college level; thus, roughly 90% of the respondents provided instructional programming at the grade school level, and approximately only 44.0% provided both K-12 and college level courses. Ten of the fourteen licensees that did not provide such service were college stations. About a quarter of all college stations provided no grade school instruction.

In the early years of educational television a considerable proportion of instructional programs were locally produced. This proportion of local production has steadily declined. More than half of all ITV hours in a 1964 sample were locally produced, by 1974 the figure had declined to 22% (excluding PBS programs). There is evidence that even this low proportion of locally produced material represents older ITV programs that stations continue to use. Declines in actual hours of ITV production per licensee appear even more substantial. CPB data reveal a drop from 78 hours of ITV produced per licensee in fiscal year 1971 to 47 hours in fiscal year 1973. (There is one interesting countertrend. Average hours of *color* ITV production climbed from 18 to 23 in this period.) The current ITV picture appears to be one of consolidation. Production costs have gone up; school systems often have less to spend on ITV; the quality of CTW programs has shifted some stations' opinions about the nature and value of their own productions; students and teachers are less patient with unsophisticated productions; pooled production resources in consortia, state groups, regional networks, or on a national scale create better programs.

The impact of "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" on traditional K-12 ITV services cannot be overestimated. The biggest controversy generated by "Sesame Street" came from the initial request for morning air time in 1968 and 1969. At about half of the PTV stations, this replaced five hours a week of instructional television during school hours. In 1974 roughly a quarter of all air time during hours when local schools were in session was given over to "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" plus "Villa Alegre" and "Carrascolendas." Sixty percent of these in-session hours contained traditional ITV material. (The other 14% of school time broadcasting was aimed at general audiences.) One of the clearest pressures on ITV programming at public television stations is the presence of the CTW programs and the bicultural programs for children. They create demands for air time that were once used for traditional classroom programming produced or acquired at the local level.

What kinds of programs are being provided by public television for use in schools? In 1974 the six most frequently broadcast programs other than those from CTW were:

1) "Inside/Out": a series to help children achieve and maintain well being, both physically and emotionally. It attempts to engage the minds of eight-to-ten year olds through presentation of situations common to their own lives. There are thirty programs in this series, each fifteen minutes long. Titles include—"But Names

"Inside/Out" is an emmy winning series on emotional health for eight-to-ten year olds.

"Carrascolendas" is a bi-cultural children's program.

Will Never Hurt," "Living with Love," "Brothers and Sisters," and "But They Might Laugh." This consortium production has won an Emmy.

2) "Ripples": a series of thirty-six fifteen minute programs for youngsters in kindergarten and the first grade. This was the first of the NIT consortium productions. It presents "encounters" that develop a child's feelings, values, sense of inquiry, ability to cope with change, and capacity for creating and understanding re'ationships. There are 36 episodes including "Feeling Spaces," "Animals Need You," "To Make a Dance," "Out to the Moon."

3) "Cover to Cover": two series of thirty-two fifteen minute programs for use in fourth through sixth grade classes. A television teacher presents a different children's book in each episode.

mixing an engaging narrative style with his own illustrations on camera. The programs never tell the whole story, but induce students to finish the book on their own. Among the works covered are *Treasure Island*, *Tom Sawyer*, and Pearl S. Buck's *The Big Wave*.

4) "All About You": a series of thirty fifteen minute programs for six-to-eight year olds about health and physiology. It tries to help a child understand how the body works, how to care for it, and how to use sensations to learn about the environment. Episodes include "Two Hundred Bones," "What's Your Fuel?," "Look at Your Hands," and "Sneezles, Wheezles, and Measles."
5) "Community of Living Things": a junior high series of thirty-two twenty-minute episodes introducing life science with an emphasis on ecology. Through field trips, close-up photography and microphotography, the course provides experiences not ordinarily available to students.
6) "Images and Things": a humanities series for ten-to-thirteen year olds. Thirty twenty-minute episodes focus on useful objects, personal images, imaginary events and figures, and natural and man-made environments. Based on two years of planning by distinguished art educators, the series helps children to respond imaginatively to diverse forms of art around them. Titles include "All Kinds of Houses," "Plazas, Malls, and Squares," "Signs of the Time," and "The Human Image."

Of course the most frequently broadcast instructional program in recent years has been "The Electric Company." (In some cases "Sesame Street" is also used in classrooms.) However, when the CTW programs are omitted from the total, the six series listed above accounted for less than ten percent of all program hours broadcast for instructional use. (The other PBS programs "Carrascolendas" and "Villa Alegre" are not included in the totals.) The low percentage represented by the six most frequent programs reflects the fact that there are hundreds of different ITV series in use at public TV stations across the country.

The program content survey breaks out the non-PBS ITV programs by subject matter:

13.2% of all hours were Music, Art & Theater
12.7% of all hours were Natural & Physical Science
11.7% of all hours were Social Science
11.2% of all hours were Literature & Humanities

ITV programs were mainly directed toward students between the first and sixth grades. (See Public Television Program Content: 1974, p. 58.)

ITV PROGRAMMING

In the future, technological change may have a great impact on ITV programming. Cable television, various video playback devices, and Instructional Television Fixed Service (ITFS) transmission may come to provide classroom teachers with multiple, flexible sources of television instruction. Much of the

present justification for ITV that is broadcast by "open circuit" transmission is based on the fact that it is an inexpensive and relatively efficient means of providing programs. If and when other technologies such as cable TV and inexpensive video playback devices, challenge the relative efficiency of open circuit broadcasting for classroom use, the emphasis in public television instructional services may shift toward a greater quantity of material that can be used in the home. The advent of other technologies may be far in the distant future. When they come they will undoubtedly cause changes in the target groups served by open circuit transmission and the subject matter it provides.

Scheduling imperatives in the field of ITV and the nature of the schedules themselves cause the bulk of such material to be aimed at classrooms from kindergarten through sixth grade. Open circuit transmission serves many schools and classrooms with a given program at a single time. Programs are repeated in the day and in the week; but the number of programs desired is great, and an extensive number of repeats on a single channel would limit the number of different programs that could be transmitted. Junior high schools and high schools teach their students a given subject at a variety of times during the school day. There are usually several different biology classes at different hours. On the other hand, grade school classes typically have one teacher with a single group of students over an entire day; and the teacher can decide at what hour to deal with any particular subject matter. Thus, grade school teachers can plan their daily schedules to include ITV material at the hour it is transmitted, and a single broadcast can be used by all grade school teachers who wish to show their classes a given program. (Lack of available sets can be a limiting factor.) At the upper grade levels, since all biology classes tend not to convene at the same hour, it is difficult to schedule a single open circuit broadcast that can reach all biology students. In larger communities or states, the times at which students change classes in high schools are not synchronized. This is a second factor working against open circuit broadcasting to higher grade levels. Another factor is that there are more grade schools than upper level schools. This means that at lower grade levels it would be more expensive to have films or videotapes in each school. Open circuit broadcasting can serve more grade schools, while alternative media are relatively more efficient over different class times in higher grades, and among fewer school buildings.

In response to this situation, the South Carolina ETV Network has established both an open circuit ITV service and six closed circuit channels to the schools in the state. The bulk of the open circuit transmission during school hours is at the grade school level. The closed circuit feeds are more frequently for upper grades; the six channels allow many plays of a particular program throughout the day. A biology teacher can use a program for each biology class over the course of a day because that program is transmitted by the closed circuit system at several different times.

Speculation about future technological advances in ITV centers around alternatives that may or may not come to pass. At present, television sets are far from universal in classrooms, and more sophisticated devices such as cable systems and videotape machines are rare. Economic crises have hit school districts across the country; in many areas plans for use of instructional television have been cut back; and in some instances school boards have had to cancel

contracts with PTV stations that provide ITV programming.

More than three quarters of all licensees have some sort of formal contract or agreement with an educational agency (the total becomes 85% when state network arrangements are included). Almost all of the rest of the stations that provide ITV service do so under informal arrangements. More than half of the licensees have an arrangement with school districts, and roughly three of ten have some sort of arrangement with state departments of education. In addition, there are many other types of entities that deal with public broadcasters for ITV services—legislatures, regional associations, city or county departments of education, etc. Among respondents in the CPB supported survey, the median licensee had arrangements with thirty-one different school districts.

In 91% of the cases where a licensee provides ITV programs, it receives funds to reimburse it for the costs of ITV. Most frequently, such funds are paid by school districts at a flat rate per student. (The typical rate appears to be between $1.00 and $1.50 per student per year.) The next most frequent source of ITV funding is state or local legislation that pays for the service. In the early years of educational television the income paid to stations for ITV services was a considerable proportion of their total income. Recently such income has been overshadowed by other sources. As a result, the incentives for heavy station expenditures on ITV support activities have declined in many cases. The state networks and the school stations appear to be the locations at which there is most interest in classroom programming. These are the places where public television has been created and funded for explicit educational goals.

ITV programming decisions are subject to many of the same influences that affect other parts of PTV schedules. Income attributable to instructional services induces stations to air ITV programs, diminished sources of funds are related to declining interest in local activities. Local production is declining because of lack of local funds and the cost-efficien. improvements in quality offered by national or consortium production. Regional networks and PBS are providing a growing number of interconnected hours of material; and this, too, is leading stations slowly away from relatively expensive autonomous programming.

However, there are several significant ways in which the ITV programming environment is unlike the situation surrounding the rest of public television. Most ITV is provided under a formal contractural arrangement which pays the station money in return for ITV services. Programming is usually developed as a result of a lengthy process involving studies of needs in schools, evaluation of available or proposed material, and eighteen months to two years lead time. Many ITV operations at stations and/or school agencies include significant "utilization" activities in which specialists help teachers make use of classroom television. Printed materials—especially teacher guides—are frequently provided with programs. Programs are sometimes available on film or videotape as well as via open circuit television. These and other factors combine to set ITV activity apart from "general audience" programming decisions; but there is a wide variety of approaches to ITV, and many of the differences can be seen as differences across a simple station typology.

TYPES OF ITV SERVICE

Like the environments in which decisions about other programming are made, the environments in which ITV programming decisions are made vary with the type of station. Ten percent of the stations (mostly college stations) either provide no K-12 classroom programs or provide only the programs fed over the PBS interconnection. The other stations engage in a variety of activities to prepare an ITV schedule for transmission. Because ITV is used in classrooms as part of an overall teaching plan, it must be scheduled well in advance to allow teachers to know what is available and make their lesson plans accordingly. Screenings and programming decisions must take place months before the start of the school year. Data indicate that programming decisions are made in late winter or early spring by more than two thirds of the licensees. Scheduling decisions tend to be made soon after the programs are selected.

EEN Network. Almost all of the stations (and state networks) in eleven Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic states make use of the interconnected ITV service operated since 1971-72 by the Eastern Educational Network. Broadcasters in these states used regional network distribution for 44% of all ITV hours transmitted in 1974. The national average was 23%. The EEN interconnection provides 30 hours a week of ITV programming. More than one hundred instructional series are available to members. The network estimates that interconnected ITV distribution "saves members up to 50% of series cost by negating the need for tape and dubbing."

The EEN instructional schedule begins with planning eighteen months before the start of a school year. Local ITV representatives suggest the program types—subject matter and grade level—that are needed. Next, programs are collected from producers and distributors for preview screenings by a standing ITV committee. Selected programs are shown to ITV and school representatives at a final screening session; and they are then shown at local screenings to the people who will be responsible for using them in schoolrooms. Programs that are accepted as a result of the screening process are included in an initial interconnection schedule that is prepared by January for the following autumn. There may be slight revisions later, but the schedule is essentially fixed nine months in advance to allow local stations to create their particular ITV schedules around the EEN feed.

Member-Supported Stations. Member-supported stations display the widest range of environments in which decisions are made about classroom programming. These environments have been in transition in recent years as station expenses have increased while income from ITV activities has remained static (or even declined). In the early years of educational television, programming with explicit instructional value was a central concern at these stations. They produced a great deal of ITV and were supported in large part by payments from educational institutions that received televised services. College level courses

and especially how-to programs such as "Folk Guitar" and "The French Chef" were also major components of programming and even income through the sale of guides to accompany programs. The last few years have seen a decline in prime time transmission of how-to programs as these stations search for larger audiences to provide greater membership income. In most cases college level courses failed to become a significant part of the schedule at these stations. College teachers seemed unwilling to make use of television; often there were not enough college classes or students to justify open circuit broadcasting; and the financial incentives were usually absent.

Recent plans and programming have caused member-supported stations to re-examine college level instruction. Home study for credit is being developed at the national level with programs that attempt to appeal to a broad prime time audience while also providing the nucleus of a college credit course. ("Ascent of Man," "The Japanese Film," and "Classic Theater" have already been mentioned in this regard.) At the regional and state level there are also new college consortia projects being developed to give credit for courses centered around open circuit broadcasts. Much of the development in these areas of higher education reflects the growth of community colleges and continuing education programs in recent years. New colleges and new institutions seem less hesitant to make use of television as part of higher education. However, such activities are a bit more difficult to arrange at member-supported stations than at the other station types. State networks already have direct relationships with state educational organizations, and they have a responsibility to provide instructional services; school board stations have not irrevocably committed their air time to audience-generating programs, the overlapped stations even welcome material that enables them to provide a second public television alternative; and the college stations are often responsible to provide higher education material.

There are several types of structures under which ITV programming takes place at member-supported stations. At one end of the spectrum are stations that simply designate a bloc of air time for instructional services and give programming responsibility to an outside organization—a committee representing school districts that use the service is one example. At the other end of the spectrum are member-supported stations where ITV programming is part of the function of the program manager. Between the two extremes are a wide range of procedures and structures: separate ITV departments are given a block of station time in which to provide programs, station ITV departments negotiate with the program manager for scheduling, outside agencies underwrite the expenses involved in transmission through negotiations with the station; and others.

Among the complicating factors for large and mid-sized stations is the number of different school systems they must deal with in a single metropolitan area. State networks have their statewide constituencies, school stations are primarily responsible to the license holder, small stations at colleges usually do not broadcast to areas containing a large number of school systems: but large and mid-sized stations typically serve scores of different districts. In order to create an ITV schedule that is an optimum for all classrooms to which service is provided there must be a coordinated plan of negotiation and scheduling. This can range from cases in which a station ITV director creates a schedule after gathering informal input from people in the schools to a situation in which there

is a series of formal meetings between teachers, utilization specialists, ITV programmers, and other interested parties.

In general, member-supported stations are less active in the realm of ITV than state networks or school board stations, although they are more active than college stations. Financial pressures in recent years have sharply curtailed local ITV production at these stations. The average community-licensed station transmitted 741 ITV hours in 1974, this was 17.2% of all hours. By way of comparison, State networks averaged 812 hours (20.5%) and school board stations averaged 653 hours (20.0%).

"Utilization" is an ITV term describing the variety of services that can help teachers utilize classroom instructional television—specialists visit schools, teacher training classes are broadcast after school hours, seminars are held, feedback is solicited about specific programs and needs. Nearly two-thirds of the community licensees responding to a survey indicated that they provide some level of utilization service to local schools. This proportion is well under the 83% of state networks that provide such services; however it indicates that member-supported stations are still frequently active in non-broadcast activities surrounding ITV. The problems are money and air time. These stations are affected first when school districts cannot afford to pay for extensive ITV services because there may not be any other sources of money for purchase of ITV programs, engineering costs, and support of non-broadcast ITV activity; and member-supported stations tend to work within tight budget restraints. At present there are also pressures for non-ITV daytime programming and afternoon adult education programs that may provide new sources of income to the member-supported stations.

State Network. The centralized state networks tend to have the greatest resources for instructional television services. They broadcast more annual hours of instructional material per year than the other station types in 1974. (812 hours per broadcaster per year, 23% more than the overall average.) Next to school stations, the state networks used the second highest amount (170 annual hours) and the second highest proportion (21% of all ITV they broadcast) of *local* instructional programming. State networks allow their mandates to provide instructional services to all citizens. They transmit programs to schools, they transmit teacher-training programs to enable teachers to function more effectively in the classroom, and they transmit college level and continuing education courses. The Maryland network, for example, is part of a cooperative venture with 17 colleges in the state called "The Maryland College of The Air." Perhaps the best known example is the ambitious State University of Nebraska (SUN) project for college education through television operated by the public television network in that state.

The organization of centralized state networks tends to place instructional services in a distinct department which may be under the chief executive or chief programming officer of the network or may be a state educational agency. (Details vary widely, as do labels. (See *Study of State Public TV Systems*, a 1969 report for CPB by Lawrence Frymire.) These ITV departments are responsible

for instructional programming decisions. They usually have direct contact with state educational authorities or commissions, determine ITV production needs, select acquisitions, and schedule for the state system. In addition to the centralized state networks described in Chapter II, there are also several cases in which independent stations join together or link up with state networks to provide daytime instructional services. In Maine, for example, a community station, WCBB, joins the Maine network to provide statewide ITV service. In the most typical situation, specific air time is allocated to instructional services—this may be an entire daytime bloc, or such a bloc minus the PBS interconnected feed of children's programs. The ITV department is then responsible for all programming within the specified time period.

Less than a third of the state networks receive a per student reimbursement for ITV services. Instead, they tend to receive a direct budget allocation from the state government to provide instructional services. As a result, state networks tend to be actively involved in "utilization" activity. More than eighty percent of the state networks provide utilization services as a regular part of their ITV activities—the highest proportion among the various types of PTV broadcasters.

These stations are the location of the greatest amount of ITV activity and the greatest potential for future growth. Since their ITV services are supported by a direct mandate from the state government they are less likely to face financial crises in the realm of ITV than other stations and they are more likely to exist in a situation where schools have television receivers and where television is becoming an accepted component of classroom education. In addition there can also be a greater demand for local ITV production due to the unique nature of state networks. School curricula may include courses in state history or civics that cannot be served by programs produced on a national scale.

College ITV Stations. It may be surprising to outsiders, but college stations provide the least ITV material of all station types. In 1974 the average college station transmitted 494 hours of material, less than one seventh of all its air time and 25% less than the average for all stations. Local production of ITV programs by college stations is even less frequent, such licensees transmitted roughly half the amount of locally produced ITV that other station types transmitted in 1974.

Of 42 college stations contacted by a survey, eight provided no instructional services for grades K-12 and another two provided only material distributed by PBS. Even among the stations that provided K-12 ITV, half provided no utilization services to schools and half provided no print materials to schools to supplement the programs (the average among other stations was 89%).

Chapter two noted that the college stations usually serve smaller communities with smaller budgets and limited facilities. They take the highest amount and the highest proportion of material directly from PBS. Under these circumstances, and with limited potential sources of funds to support ITV, many college stations are simply unable to provide extensive classroom service. The advent of free national programming distributed over the interconnection by

PBS allows these stations to provide more; and the trend toward statewide and regional clustering of stations has also provided some of these stations with ITV programs that they would not have had under other circumstances.

School Stations. The school stations were created in order to serve organizations that are responsible for classroom education. Their primary responsibility is to provide programming in response to the needs of schools in their areas. Thus, it is not surprising to find that school stations, although their total operating budgets are well below average, produce more instructional programming in their own facilities and broadcast more hours of locally produced material than any other type of station. School stations are less likely than other stations to provide instructional services above the K-12 grade levels; but they are most likely to provide additional services to schools. These stations frequently supply schools with utilization specialists—people who visit teachers and show them the best methods for using ITV in the classroom. More than half of them provide technical support to help maintain receivers in schools. More than half of the school stations provide instructional programming in media other than open circuit broadcasts—cassettes, films, etc.

Since most school stations are fairly small, they tend to have relatively simple tables of organization. And since instructional services are the *raison d'etre* for these stations, their managers tend to have a background in education and/or ITV. Thus, the environment is one in which great attention is paid to classroom programming and the provision of printed teacher guides, utilization specialists, programming in other media formats, such as films and cassettes, and technical assistance. These stations usually have a single person responsible for the final schedule of programs for the entire day. There is almost always consultation with teachers or administrators about the ITV programs that will be selected and their place in the overall schedule. The smaller school stations appear to have a closeness that allows people involved with various station activities—production, scheduling, utilization, station finance—to interact more closely than they do at the state networks or the large and mid-sized member-supported stations. (Such interaction takes place at all stations; but where staffs are larger, buildings sprawl over more area, and organizational charts are defined more clearly there is less interaction across functional or departmental lines.)

The average school station provided 653 hours of ITV programming in 1974,of which 189 hours (29%) were locally produced. The percentage of all hours devoted to ITV was roughly the same (20%) as that for state networks, and was well above the percentage from community or college stations. Since school stations tend to serve a limited number of schools (compared to member-supported stations in larger communities and statewide networks); they can key their ITV programming to a relatively well defined school year and relatively consistent classroom hours. Thus, while contact with schools and teachers is probably greatest at these stations, the problems of determining which programs are needed and where they should be scheduled are minimized.

There are two common threads that run across all station types if the station provides an ITV schedule at the grade school level. First is the presence

of supplementary printed material—usually teacher guides—provided with programs. *Public Television Program Content: 1974* provides data that indicate print materials were distributed to teachers with nearly ninety percent of the programs broadcast for classroom use. In some cases the print materials are not distributed directly by the station; but almost ninety percent of the stations provide print materials with some of their ITV programs. (An exception is the college stations, where half of the respondents provided no print materials to go with their ITV programming.)

The second is the frequent use of curriculum committees, teacher evaluation procedures and/or advisory groups in ITV programming. Almost all respondents providing an ITV service indicated that they consulted with one or more such groups in the preparation of their ITV schedules. Thus, ITV programming decisions can be made by a number of different types of decision-makers: the station's program manager, a station ITV person, a network or state ITV office, an outside organization that prepares a schedule for a predetermined bloc of air time, or a representative of a school district or districts. These decision-makers tend to consult with one or more groups of people who are directly associated with the use of instructional materials in schools.

The pressures affecting ITV programming decisions tend to be straight forward in some areas and hard to understand in others. Like the environments in which decisions about other programming are made, the environments in which ITV programming decisions are made vary with the type of station.

1. *Member-supported stations* display the widest range of environments which effect decisions about ITV programming. Although these environments have been in transition in recent years, the member-supported stations have produced and broadcast a great deal of ITV programs.
2. The centralized *state networks* have the greatest resources for ITV services and broadcast the greatest amount of instructional material per year than any other station type.
3. *School stations* were created to serve organizations that are responsible for classroom education. Because this is their primary concern they produce more instructional programming at their facilities and broadcast more hours of locally produced materials than any other station type.
4. *College stations* are at the bottom of ITV programming activity. This limited service reflects the smaller communities, smaller budgets and limited facilities that college stations usually serve.

Within the four types of station services, and the regional network services there are many important factors that influence ITV decisions: the trend towards decreasing funding from school districts, decreasing local production, and an increase in consortium production. There are also cost efficiency problems for member-supported stations that must consider the degree of ITV service they will provide in return for the cash flow it produces. There are the questions of adequate and appropriate services by state networks and school stations licensed to organizations which must provide instructional support to their constituencies. There are the pressures for air time when PBS feeds a daily bloc

of morning and afternoon programs (late afternoon programs compete with how-to programs and adult education after working hours). On the other hand, there are a variety of values and judgments applied in making decisions about program selection and scheduling by local educators and/or the ITV staff of a station. These result in different programs selected to provide instruction to similar grade levels on similar subject matter in different communities. The evaluation of program quality and utility is often fairly subjective, although recent trends in ITV may eventually produce a relatively concentrated group of universally accepted high-quality productions. (If production cost is any indication of quality, future consortium efforts arranged by AIT/NIT will be of the highest calibre.) Personality differences and subjective evaluations will probably always be a part of decisions about program quality, program utility, and the need for programming of a given type.

These varied and fluctuating services, the need for well-distributed ITV printed materials, the operation of curriculum committed and advisory groups for ITV programming, all effect the decision making process for ITV programming. The future of classroom television seems relatively secure. Programs that aid the teacher are improving in quality. However, future technology may reduce dependence on open circuit broadcast from PTV stations. It is the unknown aspects of future technology and especially the cost of new technology that make it difficult to clearly project the nature of ITV in the future.